

**Education for Liberal Democracy:
Fred Clarke and Educational Reconstruction in England
1936-1952**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the connection between the democratic ideas of Fred Clarke (1880-1952), an English educationist, and his contribution to educational reconstruction in England in the 1940s. By drawing on biographical method and documentary research, this thesis demonstrates that Clarke's democratic ideas reflected the ideals of liberal democracy and ways in which his ideas informed his positions on various issues of the educational reform and his actions or activities towards them, which constituted his substantial contribution to the reform.

Three general themes in this thesis support the main argument. First, Clarke's ideas about the distinction between community and the State, his conception of equality, and his emphasis on free personality and moral qualities of all citizens found their roots in the ideals of liberal democracy, especially those of developmental democracy. Second, Clarke's ideas of democracy underlay his positions on educational issues such as the reorganization of the central authority; the public schools; the administrative system, selection and organization of secondary education; further education; teacher education and the teaching profession; and adult education. Third, Clarke contributed himself to the reform primarily through arousing and guiding public opinion by means of his speeches, writings, cooperative actions, engagement in professional organizations, and the publication of the first report of the Central Advisory Council, *School and Life* (1947), which were also in accordance with his ideas of democracy. Clarke also exerted his influence on cultural élites through discussion groups and on policy-makers and key figures through memoranda, private meetings and

correspondence.

Given these findings, this thesis helps fill a significant gap in the current knowledge as to Clarke's democratic ideas, his contribution to educational reconstruction in the 1940s, and above all, the intimate link between them. Moreover, it sheds some light on the nature and tensions of the major educational reform of this period.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Hon-ah Ka

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Abbreviations

AEC	Association for Education in Citizenship
ATCDE	Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education
ENEF	English New Education Fellowship
IAAM	Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters
LEAs	Local Education Authorities
NALT	National Association of Labour Teachers
NUT	National Union of Teachers
PEP	Political and Economic Planning
TUC	Trades Union Congress
WEF	World Education Fellowship

Ch1 Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the connection between the conception of democracy promoted by Fred Clarke (1880-1952) and his contribution to educational reconstruction from the mid-1930s to the 1940s in England. This link has been neglected by historians of the period either focusing on his educational ideas or paying attention to his involvement in educational reform. This introductory chapter will provide a brief illustration of the background, key focus and questions, rationale, and methodology of this research, as well as the content of the thesis.

1.1 Background to the Research

In history, war events inevitably brought about great crises and massive damage to human society. However, they also provided crucial opportunities for educational reform and reconstruction. One cannot deny that it was exactly the case in the English history of education, especially from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. As H. C. Barnard argues, ‘It is not without significance that the Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1918, 1944 were passed in a time of war; and it would seem that men’s minds, in a revulsion against the folly and waste and false values of war, turn to education as the one hope for the future....’¹ No doubt, the 1944 Education Act, enacted in the war years, was intended to prepare for post-war educational reconstruction. Among all features of the educational reconstruction, a remarkable one was the conscious and active defence of democracy. Gary McCulloch suggests that, during wartime, ‘educational reform was seen not only as

¹ H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education: From 1760* (London: University of London Press, 1961), 293.

a means of achieving equality of opportunity, but also as a way to enhance citizenship'.² Indeed, 'In the 1930s and especially during the Second World War', he adds, 'it based itself on the protection of democratic rights against the threat of the fascist dictators.'³ This feature was manifest in the ideas and activities of one of the leading figures in the reform, Sir Fred Clarke.⁴ He not only wrote and discussed about democracy with regard to various facets of education but also considered democratic principles as criteria of the wartime educational reform and committed himself to them. In other words, he devoted himself primarily to 'education for democracy', that is, to promoting reforms of educational institutions in pursuit of a democratic society, rather than to 'education through democracy', which would embody a spirit of democracy in pedagogic practices in schools, such as A. S. Neill's ideas of self-government.

Clarke was born on 2 August 1880 at High Cogges farm near Witney, Oxfordshire and died on 6 January 1952. He was the third son of William Clarke, who was a working man. Around 1886, the family moved to Oxford and he attended St. Ebbe's Boys' School where he also served as a pupil teacher from 1894 to 1898. In 1899, he obtained the Queen's Scholarship and entered the Oxford University Day Training College as a non-collegiate student. In 1903, he graduated with a first-class honours degree in modern history and a first-class teacher's certificate. After a few weeks of teaching at Sandford, a village east of Oxford, in September 1903, he arrived in York and was appointed as Master of Method at the Diocesan Training College. In March 1906, at the age of only 25, he became Professor of

² Gary McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction: The 1944 Education Act and the Twenty-first Century* (London: Woburn Press, 1994), 93.

³ Ibid., 94.

⁴ On 1 January 1943, Fred Clarke was recognized in the New Years Honours List with the title of Knight Bachelor. *TES*, 2nd January 1943, p. 8.

Education at Hartley University College, Southampton. In March 1911, he left England and spent the following eighteen years in Cape Town, South Africa and another five years in Montreal, Canada. In 1935, he finally returned to England and took up the post of 'adviser to overseas students' at the Institute of Education, University of London. In 1936, Clarke succeeded Percy Nunn as the Director of the Institute of Education from 1936 to 1945.⁵

From the outbreak of the Second World War, Clarke contributed to educational reform at various levels. For example, for discussing reform proposals, Clarke joined the Moot, which was a group of distinguished Christian laymen, clergy and intellectuals. They met for residential weekend discussions from 1938 to 1947.⁶ Aside from this, Clarke also joined the 'All Souls Group', which was convened in June 1941 by Dr. W. G. S. Adams to discuss proposals with regard to secondary education, the public schools, local and central authorities, adult education along with the training and supply of teachers for the reform of postwar education.⁷ He was a member of the McNair Committee on the supply, recruitment, and training of teachers and youth leaders. He supported the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction* (1943) and the Education Bill (1943). After the legislation of the 1944 Education Act, he was invited to hold the position of the first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England). He was also appointed as an

⁵ This short introduction of Clarke's education and early careers was written according to the following sources: Richard Aldrich, 'Clarke, Sir Fred', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 869-871; Frank W. Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke: Master-Teacher 1880-1952* (London: Longmans, 1967); Claudia Clarke, 'Sir Fred Clarke: a Reappraisal of His Early Years 1880-1911', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 33/1 (2006), 33-61.

⁶ Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke*, 109; William Taylor, 'Education and the Moot', in *In History and In Education: Essays Presented to Peter Gordon*, ed. R. Aldrich (London: The Woburn Press, 1996), 159-186 (p. 160).

⁷ Stuart Maclure, *Sixty Years On: The All Souls Group 1941-2001 and Beyond* (Privately Published for the All Souls Group, 2002), 3, 23; 'All Souls Group: List of Subjects and Guests', [n.d.] Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/1/3.

adviser in the National Union of Teachers (NUT) after his retirement from the directorship of the Institute of Education. In addition, he chaired the interim committee of the National Foundation for Educational Research, 1943-47, its executive committee, 1947-49, and served as Vice-President, 1949-52.⁸

In general, Clarke's contribution to this reform was recognized by his contemporaries and historians. W. Roy Niblett, who was appointed as Dean of the Institute of Education in London in 1954, once argued that 'In the ten years from the beginning of the second world war, Clarke perhaps had greater influence upon education in England than any other one person.'⁹ Michael Barber also claims that 'the passage of the 1944 Act owes a great deal to thousands of nameless men and women up and down the country, and to their leaders: people like Ronald Gould, Fred Clarke, Leah Manning, Archbishop Temple and so on'.¹⁰ In a similar vein, Brian Simon describes Clarke as 'an educational statesman on the grand scale' and illustrates his involvement in the reform, especially on the issue of the public schools.¹¹ David Crook also points out Clarke's efforts in promoting the reform of teacher education, that is, supporting the University Schools of Education scheme after the publication of the McNair Report, *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (1944).¹² Nevertheless, Clarke's contribution to the educational reform in England, especially in respect of education for democracy has not been explored and assessed thoroughly.

⁸ Aldrich, 'Clarke, Sir Fred', 870.

⁹ W. Roy Niblett, Book review on F. W. Mitchell's *Sir Fred Clarke*. Clarke papers, Institute of Education Archives, FC/4/1.

¹⁰ Michael Barber, *The Making of the 1944 Education Act* (London: Cassell, 1994), 109.

¹¹ Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1991), 40.

¹² David Crook, 'Universities, Teacher Training, and the Legacy of McNair, 1944-94', *History of Education*, 24/3 (1995), 231-245 (p. 238).

Works previously published on Clarke help illustrate this deficiency. Studies by Richard Glotzer and Peter Kallaway explore Clarke's educational career in his early years.¹³ While Glotzer examines Clarke's career in South Africa and Canada, especially in relation to the Carnegie Corporation, Kallaway elaborates Clarke's work and observations on education, in particular on vocational education in South Africa. In contrast to the studies by Glotzer and Kallaway, which mainly rely on published papers as primary sources, Claudia Clarke, Fred Clarke's daughter, adopts private letters to re-evaluate her father's education and early educational career from 1880 to 1911.¹⁴ Although these three studies shed some light on Clarke's early education and educational career, which can help explain part of the origins of his later ideas and activities, they neglect the continuous development of his ideas and efforts for democracy in his later life.

Aside from the researches on Clarke's early years, two researchers concentrate on diverse aspects of Clarke's ideas. Neil Burtonwood's research illustrates the influence of Emile Durkheim on Clarke's ideas of education and society.¹⁵ He argues that Clarke made use of Durkheim's distinction between the individual being and the social being and emphasized that education was to be concerned with the latter.¹⁶ Moreover, he demonstrates that Clarke's Durkheimian thinking influenced two official publications of the postwar period, *School and Life* and *The Curriculum and Community in Wales*.¹⁷ Whereas Burtonwood primarily deals with Clarke's

¹³ Richard Glotzer, 'Sir Fred Clarke: South Africa and Canada Carnegie Corporation Philanthropy and the Transition from Empire to Commonwealth', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 22/1 (1995), 1-21; Peter Kallaway, 'Fred Clarke and the Politics of Vocational Education in South Africa, 1911-1929', *History of Education*, 25/4 (1996), 353-362.

¹⁴ Claudia Clarke, 'Sir Fred Clarke: a Reappraisal of His Early Years 1880-1911'.

¹⁵ Neil Burtonwood, 'Durkheim, Sir Fred Clarke and English Education', *Westminster Studies in Education*, 4 (1981), 105-113.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 110.

educational ideas about society, Richard Aldrich focuses on Clarke's substantial contribution to the New Education.¹⁸ Aldrich clearly points out that 'his [Clarke's] concept of New Education was framed by a concern to sustain democracy in the face of totalitarian onslaught'.¹⁹ Meanwhile, he lists Clarke's writings in *The New Era*, which display Clarke's criticism of 'individual freedom' championed by new educationists and his call for 'planned freedom'.²⁰ Even though these two studies single out crucial aspects in Clarke's ideas of democracy, they do not address other facets of his ideas of democracy and the impact of his ideas on the educational reform of the 1940s.

Among all the literature on Clarke, a thesis by Gordon Makin and a biography by Frank W. Mitchell provide the most detailed description of Clarke's life and work.²¹ Makin's thesis spans Clarke's whole life between 1880 and 1952. One of its strengths is the usage of oral evidence, questionnaires and personal letters offered by Clarke's contemporaries, including his colleagues, friends and students.²² This gives readers a vivid portrait of Clarke's personality and his styles of teaching and leadership. Nevertheless, despite the fact that he acknowledges Clarke's contribution to the reform leading to the 1944 Education Act, when he illustrates Clarke's life and work from 1935 to 1945, he mainly concentrates on Clarke's devotion to the Institute of Education in London and the McNair Committee.²³ Moreover, in terms of the postwar period, although he mentions Clarke's chairmanship of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), his primary focus is Clarke's success in

¹⁸ Richard Aldrich, 'The New Education and the Institute of Education, University of London, 1919-1945', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45/4-5 (2009), 485-502.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 497.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 499.

²¹ Gordon Makin, *Sir Fred Clarke—Educator*, Unpublished MA Thesis, McGill University, 1963; Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke*.

²² Makin, *Sir Fred Clarke—Educator*, ii.

²³ *Ibid.*, Ch 6 & Ch 8.

chairing the Council rather than his influence on the implementation of the new Act through this Council. Overall, this thesis does not formulate Clarke's contribution to the educational reform of the 1940s due to the lack of relevant official and private documents when the author was writing his thesis.

As for Mitchell's biography, he not only precisely presents Clarke's ideas on freedom and democracy by means of a large number of quotations from Clarke's writings but also records some official and unofficial activities Clarke was committed to during and after wartime. Nonetheless, evidence concerning Clarke's activities is not sufficient in his research. Mitchell also admits in his book that official documents related to the 1944 Education Act were inaccessible when he was writing Clarke's biography.²⁴ Furthermore, although he makes efforts to outline Clarke's important works on freedom and democracy, he fails to give a systematic account of Clarke's ideas of democracy and neglects the connection between Clarke's ideas of democracy and his activities as to educational reform during and after the Second World War.

Based on the literature review above, this research aims to bridge the gap between the understanding of Clarke's ideas of democracy and his engagement in educational development and policy-making, that is, to explore what Clarke thought and did for democracy, which eventually constituted a significant contribution to English educational reform in the 1940s. By focusing on this, chief tensions and nature of educational reform in wartime and post-war England, and, above all, the relationship between ideas and politics in the history of education will be revealed more thoroughly.

²⁴ Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke*, 113, see footnote 1.

1.2 Research Focus and Questions

On the grounds of the background of this research, this study aims to examine Clarke's ideas of democracy and assess his contribution to English educational reform during and after wartime. Three key sets of questions are raised in this study.

The first set of questions deals with the nature of Clarke's ideas of democracy. What are the content and features of Clarke's ideas of democracy? What did he argue for with regard to the conception of equality, the respective functions of the State and community in education, and education for democratic citizenship? To what extent can his ideas of democracy be categorized as liberal democracy rather than social democracy, both of which competed with each other in the 1930s and 1940s?

The second set of questions addresses Clarke's position on major educational issues of English educational reform in the 1940s in relation to his views about democracy and education. What kind of issues concerned Clarke most during and after wartime? For instance, on issues like the public schools as well as the organization, selection and curriculum of secondary education, what did Clarke stand for? To what extent did his opinions on these issues reflect his ideas of democracy?

The third set of questions is related to Clarke's activities and contribution to reform. During wartime, through what kind of media did he bring his ideas of democracy and his thoughts on educational issues to the public, the Board of Education officials, cultural élites and other crucial figures in the reform? In the

aftermath of the war, what kind of actions did he undertake in order to advance the implementation of the 1944 Education Act? To what extent did his actions or activities coincide with his ideas of democracy? To what extent did he contribute to reform?

By focusing on these questions, the scope and boundaries of this research can be delimited more clearly as follows. First, this research does not seek to explore Clarke's work at the Institute of Education from 1936 to 1945, though his significant contribution to the Institute should not be neglected. Second, Clarke's efforts in colonial education will not be examined. This research will mainly address his life and work in England, though an international context will still be taken into account. Third, this research does not attempt to spell out in detail Clarke's work on educational research. However, since the development of educational research was related to this reform, it will be mentioned in relation to Clarke's broad vision of educational reconstruction.

Through answering the questions about Clarke's ideas of democracy, his thoughts on educational reform and his contribution to it, this study will provide a more profound understanding of the nature and underlying conflicts of educational reconstruction in the 1940s. Moreover, the past educational thinking and patterns will provide us with some implications for present discussions on education for democracy, for instance, the controversial role of the State in education, and education for democratic citizenship.

1.3 Rationale for the Research

In this section, two current tendencies in English educational development in relation to democracy will be discussed in order to illustrate the rationale behind this research. By doing this, the significance and potential contribution of this research to educational development in the United Kingdom and the international world will be addressed.

The first tendency is the increased central control over the education system. Over the past three decades, there has been a general tendency towards centralization in educational development in the U. K. According to John Fitz's analysis, the central State established a 'formidable institutional complex', including a National Curriculum, inspection against criteria published by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), national literacy and numeracy strategies, a 'national curriculum' for teacher education, target setting for schools and LEAs, and performance-related pay for teachers, in order to regulate curriculum and pedagogic practices in schools and put pressure on schools.²⁵ The ever-increasing central government intervention is confirmed by a survey conducted by the House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee (CSFC). The report published in 2010 reveals that in the areas of the National Curriculum, national testing and assessment, accountability structures, and the training of teachers, there has been 'a relentless trend towards increased central control' over most of the last twenty years.²⁶ Hence, this report calls for a balance between local and central control, and

²⁵ John Fitz, 'The Politics of Accountability: A Perspective from England and Wales', *Peabody Journal of Education*, 78/4 (2003), 230-241 (pp. 233-234).

²⁶ House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee, *From Baker to Balls: The Foundations of the Education System*, Ninth Report of Session 2009-10, HC422 (London: Stationery Office, 2010), 4.

advises that ‘governments need to provide broad frameworks rather than seeking to micro-manage the day to day work of teachers’.²⁷ Also, the final report of the most comprehensive investigation on primary education since the Plowden Report of 1967, *Children, Their World, Their Education*, published in 2009, strongly called for ‘sharing leadership in order to nurture the capacities of teachers and emphasize schools’ core tasks and relationship with their local communities’.²⁸ According to McCulloch, this tendency can be viewed as ‘the growth of a command-and-control model of central authority’, which, he argues, has ‘cut across ideals of liberal democracy’.²⁹

Historically, the issue of the role of the State in education has been controversial in Britain for centuries. Tracing back to the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, some social and political theorists were disposed to oppose control over education by the State. For example, William Godwin (1756-1836), one of the exponents of philosophical anarchism, believed that education controlled by the State would be a threat to free inquiry.³⁰ He argued that State education ‘has always expended its energies in the support of prejudice’.³¹ Once education was controlled by the government, he claimed, ‘government will not fail to employ it, to strengthen its hands, and perpetuate its institutions’.³² Similarly, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), a British classical liberal political theorist, also rejected a national education system.

²⁷ Ibid., 3.

²⁸ Robin Alexander (Ed.), *Children, Their World, Their Education: Final Report and Recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review* (London: Routledge, 2010), 511.

²⁹ Gary McCulloch, ‘Historical Perspectives on Democratic Schooling’, in *Democratic Citizenship in Schools: Teaching Controversial Issues, Traditions and Accountability*, eds. J. Brown, H. Ross and P. Munn (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2012), 5-15 (p. 10).

³⁰ John P. Clark, *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 216.

³¹ F. E. L. Priestley (Ed.), *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness by William Godwin* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), Vol. 2, 299.

³² Ibid., 302.

He maintained that, in a national education system, the government would become the only judge. ‘This system of discipline it is bound to enforce to the uttermost.’³³ By comparison with Godwin’s and Spencer’s strong opposition to State education, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), a British philosopher and an important figure in liberal political philosophy, took a more modest position, though he still tended to reduce the State intervention in education to a minimum level. From a perspective of liberalism, he argued that ‘If the government would make up its mind to *require* for every child a good education, it might save itself the trouble of *providing* one.’³⁴ For him, the matter of education should be left to parents and the government should simply help to pay school fees of the poorer classes of children. However, he did not exclude the possibility of ‘an education established and controlled by the State’ as long as ‘[it] should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence’.³⁵

On the contrary to Godwin, Spencer and Mill, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), a British poet, cultural critic and inspector of schools, espoused a stronger role of the State. He noted that England had no notion of the State—‘the nation in its collective and corporate character, entrusted with stringent powers for the general advantage, and controlling individual wills in the name of an interest wider than that of individuals’, which would cause a danger of drifting towards anarchy.³⁶ Based on this, he supported an organized public system of education provided by the State and called for an education minister to promote the efficiency of administration and to

³³ A. M. Kazamias (Ed.), *Herbert Spencer on Education* (NY: Teachers College Press, 1966), 96.

³⁴ Stefan Collini (Ed.), *J. S. Mill: On Liberty and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 106.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ J. Dover Wilson (Ed.), *Culture and Anarchy by Matthew Arnold* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 75.

take a central responsibility for the schools.³⁷ Similarly, the British idealists stressed the need for the augmentation of the State's power. Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), a pivotal figure of British Idealism, proposed that as the prevention of a hindrance to capacity for rights on the part of children, education should be enforced by the State.³⁸

Like Arnold and Green, Clarke also agreed on a crucial role played by the State in education. He approved of 'the rights and duty of the State to balance, adjust, and correct the life of the institutions which compose it'.³⁹ However, confronted by the urgent threat from authoritarian ideology, Clarke had a rather different task, that is, maintaining the value of freedom and democracy in British society rather than stumbling into totalitarianism. Therefore, he stressed the limits on the authority and functions of the State. He stated that:

It [Society] would use the State only where process of law was required for such ends as the guarantee of opportunity, the provision of means, the securing of minorities, the maintenance of standards, and the protection of the reasonable freedom of the teacher.⁴⁰

Furthermore, he differentiated a 'democratic' education from a 'totalitarian' education by laying an emphasis on the distinction between the State and community. He stressed that:

³⁷ W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1950), 273-274.

³⁸ Peter Gordon and John White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 46.

³⁹ Fred Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 39.

⁴⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis in Education', in *Church, Community, and State in Relation to Education* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1938), 3-26 (p. 25). Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

Where it is accepted that the real educator is the community, not the State, and that the interest of the community is best served by securing a maximum of opportunity to free Personality, the essentials of a democratic order are secured. The legal, administrative, regulative organ called the State is then, towards the community, an *agent* and, towards the individual, a *trustee*. It is, on the other hand, when State and community are identified that democratic values in education can no longer have free course and this seems to be the condition now reached in totalitarian countries.⁴¹

The distinction between the State and community was one of the prominent themes of Clarke's ideas of democracy. Considering the growth of centralized control over the current education system, Clarke's ideas of the functions of the State in education are worthy of a thorough examination. Through this, alternative thoughts on the balance between the State and society can be offered to the current educational debate about the role of the State in the U. K. More important, they can provide implications for the international educational world by enabling policy-makers to reflect on educational policies and developments in their own countries.

In addition, the cultivation of citizenship is also closely linked to the establishment of a democratic society. At the turn of the twenty-first century, education for democratic citizenship became a renewed interest in the U. K. and the international world. According to Audrey Osler's and Hugh Starkey's analysis, there are six key contextual factors which account for the considerable growth in interest

⁴¹ Ibid., 19-20.

in citizenship education over the past decade. They are global injustice and inequality; globalization and migration; concerns about civic and political engagement; youth deficit; along with anti-democratic and racist movements.⁴² In England, following the publication of the Crick Report (1998), citizenship education was introduced to secondary schools in 2002 as a statutory subject. However, there have been debate and discussions about the conception of citizenship and citizenship education.

As Osler and Starkey point out, 'Citizenship is a contested subject and it is therefore not surprising that education for citizenship in schools often tends to provoke heated debate and controversy, with various proponents adopting differing approaches and certain critics even questioning whether schools should be engaged in this area of learning.'⁴³ For example, former chief inspector of schools, Chris Woodhead criticizes the introduction of citizenship education in schools because, in his view, citizenship classes might run the risk of 'political correctness' and 'indoctrination'. Moreover, he believes that citizenship education 'would encourage children to come to premature conclusions without the necessary knowledge base'. Therefore, he argues that 'it would be better to teach them history, geography and science so they had a knowledge base to come to their own conclusions in the fullness of time'.⁴⁴ Richard Pring also contends that there is no reason for a 'subject set apart'. For him, citizenship education should be delivered in other subjects, particularly those concerned with the humanities and in the more general life and work of the school.⁴⁵ In revisiting the practice and policy of citizenship education,

⁴² Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, 'Education for Democratic Citizenship: a Review of Research, Policy and Practice, 1995-2005', *Research Papers in Education*, 21/4 (2006), 433-466 (pp. 435-439).

⁴³ Ibid., 435.

⁴⁴ D. Macleod, 'Ex-Ofsted chief attacks "perversion of education"', *Guardian*, 11th September 2002.

⁴⁵ Richard Pring, 'Political Education: Relevance of the Humanities', *Oxford Review of Education*,

Michael Watts also maintains that it is ‘not sufficient for students to simply discuss issues relating to democracy and citizenship if “participation and responsible action” are to be encouraged’. He maintains strongly that students ‘must invest in the concepts of democratic citizenship that are promulgated through the curriculum and discussed in school’.⁴⁶

In effect, back in the 1930s, there was also a similar debate on citizenship education in Britain. At the time, education for citizenship and democracy became a key issue due to the threat to democracy from fascist states. There were two distinct approaches towards citizenship education competing with each other. One was a liberal and progressive perspective, which was advocated by Sir Ernest Simon (1879-1960), a British industrialist and former Liberal MP. The Association for Education in Citizenship (AEC) was founded by him in 1934. With great enthusiasm for shielding democracy from the threat of authoritarian states, Simon supported a direct method to teach pupils the qualities required for a good citizen, including to have ‘a love of truth and freedom’, to have ‘a sense of social responsibility’, to ‘reason correctly in the social sciences where their own prejudices and passions are often involved’, and to ‘acquire a knowledge of the broad facts of the political and economic world’.⁴⁷ For example, he argued that, apart from history and geography, there should be more direct instruction in economics and politics to provide pupils with the broad political and economic facts of the modern world.⁴⁸ However, as opposed to the direct education for citizenship, there were some educationists who

25/1&2 (1999), 71-87 (p. 81).

⁴⁶ Michael Watts, ‘Citizenship Education Revisited: Policy, Participation and Problems’, *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 14/1 (2006), 83-97 (p. 88).

⁴⁷ Ernest D. Simon, ‘The Need for Training for Citizenship’, in E. M. Hubback and E. D. Simon, *Education for Citizenship* (London: Association for Education in Citizenship, n.d; 1934?), 6-12 (pp. 11-12).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

championed indirect education with a Christian ethos as a basic form of education for citizenship and earned approval from official agencies. For instance, Rob Freathy suggests that, for Sir Cyril Norwood (1875-1956), a former headmaster of Harrow School and senior educationist, citizenship education should be conducted through ordinary subjects and the school life with Christian spirit.⁴⁹ Clarke's ideas made for another example too.

Clarke's interpretation of citizenship was to advance citizens' personality and character so that they could devote themselves to the common good. Furthermore, he believed that only when individuals achieved a victory of conscience could they make a 'responsible self-assertion' and contribute to the common good.⁵⁰ Individual conscience, for him, was not grounded on secular laws but on ultimate values in Christianity. On this account, the ideal citizenship for Clarke was Christian citizenship. Besides, Clarke stressed that 'citizenship is not like cookery, a technique; it is a life, and the whole range of education is needed for its production'.⁵¹ Since art could be the supreme instruments of self-discovery, he claimed that 'a diet of poetry gives far sounder stiffening for citizenship than a diet of civics'.⁵² Moreover, even though Clarke acknowledged that the cause of good citizenship could be helped by the sound teaching of history, he opposed the idea that history should be taught for citizenship. He argued that 'if you set out to teach History with this express aim in view you will probably either fail altogether or will produce something other than your desire'.⁵³

⁴⁹ Rob Freathy, 'The Triumph of Religious Education for Citizenship in English Schools, 1935-1949', *History of Education*, 37/2 (2008), 295-316 (p. 300).

⁵⁰ Fred Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society* (London: University of London Press, 1948), 60.

⁵¹ Fred Clarke, 'An Educator Looks at the Crisis', an address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, April 26th, 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Fred Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 73.

In his writings, in particular *Freedom in the Educative Society* (1948), Clarke expounded clearly his ideas of education for citizenship in a free and democratic society. It is important to probe into and reinterpret his ideas on this topic. In so doing, they will throw some light on the nature, purposes and approaches of citizenship education and will contribute to the debate on education for democratic citizenship at both national and international levels.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Biographical Method

In order to attain the aims above, biographical method will be drawn on in this research. There has been a fierce debate over biography as a genre of history in the discussions of historiography. Roger Lockyer succinctly points out historians' main concern as follows:

For many historians the writing of biography is not a desirable or even a legitimate pursuit. They believe that focusing on a single individual obscures the broader picture, which consists of long-term developments and fundamental shifts in the balance of forces in society.⁵⁴

Historians often doubt the extent to which traditional biography, which is characteristic of the 'cradle-to-the-grave narration' and revolves around individual lives, characters and motives, can help explain wider social change and development.

⁵⁴ Roger Lockyer, 'Writing Historical Biography', *History Today*, 34 (1984), 46-49 (p. 46).

David Nasaw argues that 'constrained by the conventions of the discipline', historians tend to 'make connections, to give significance, to glimpse a larger whole through a smaller part'.⁵⁵ Therefore, biographies by historians often show a considerably distinct appearance from traditional biographies. Unlike general biographers, historians are concerned with the interaction of the individual and a wider society as well as of private lives and public issues. As Nasaw puts it, 'Their objective is not simply to tell a life story..., but to deploy the individual in the study of the world outside that individual and to explore how the private informs the public and vice versa.'⁵⁶

With regard to the importance of individual biography to the illumination of social structure, in his well-known book, *The Sociological Imagination*, C. Wright Mills provides a profound explanation for the relationship between biography and history. He argues that 'Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both.'⁵⁷ In order to elaborate the relationship between the two spheres, Mills puts forward two concepts, namely 'personal troubles' and 'public issues'. Whereas personal trouble 'is a private matter: values cherished by an individual are felt by him to be threatened', a public issue 'often involves a crisis in institutional arrangements'.⁵⁸ For Mills, personal troubles can reflect public issues of social structure since 'what we experience in various and specific milieux...is often caused by structural changes'.⁵⁹ In view of the impact of social structure on individual lives, Mills believes that the understanding of social

⁵⁵ David Nasaw, 'Historians and Biography: Introduction', *The American Historical Review*, 114/3 (2009), 573-578 (p. 575).

⁵⁶ Ibid., 574.

⁵⁷ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 8-9.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 10.

structure should be in terms of ‘its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals’.⁶⁰ Conversely, despite the restraints of social structure, man, as a social and historical actor must be understood ‘in close and intricate interplay with social and historical structures’.⁶¹ The capacity ‘to range from the most impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self—and to see the relations between the two’ is what Mills calls ‘the sociological imagination’.⁶²

Additionally, historians also make similar claims. For instance, Lois W. Banner argues that ‘If we regard the individual as the “text” and the surrounding culture as the “context”, it follows that the individual “text” not only reflects the “context” but also influences it, in a reciprocal interaction that...I call dialogic.’⁶³ It is the dialogue between text and context and the fact that the individual as a history-maker can influence historical development that makes biography necessary for the studies of wider social-historical processes. This necessity is described concisely by Robert I. Rotberg. He states that:

History could hardly exist without biographical insights—without the texture of human endeavor that emanates from a full appreciation of human motivation, the real or perceived constraints on human action, and exogenous influences on human behavior.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁶¹ Ibid., 158.

⁶² Ibid., 7.

⁶³ Lois W. Banner, ‘Biography as History’, *The American Historical Review*, 114/3 (2009), 579-586 (p. 582).

⁶⁴ Robert I. Rotberg, ‘Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XL/4 (2010), 305-324 (p. 305).

In fact, Aldrich notes that general studies of educational reform are apt to minimize the roles of individuals.⁶⁵ If individual biography is indispensable for deepening the understanding of society as a whole, the life and work of Clarke, who was a crucial figure in educational reconstruction in the 1940s, ought to be explored by adopting biographical method so that the nature of educational reconstruction can be explored more thoroughly. However, different from traditional biography, this research will examine analytically and critically Clarke's ideas and activities which are relevant to the questions and aims of this research even though the essential feature of biography, namely the concept of 'Narrative' will be retained.⁶⁶ A good example of the analytic approach to biography is McCulloch's study on Cyril Norwood.⁶⁷

1.4.2 Primary Sources

There is a wide variety of primary sources being used in this research. They mainly include Clarke's works, personal archive and library, official and institutional records which are related to his educational actions or activities, the works and personal archives of Clarke's contemporaries, and others.

Clarke's Works, Personal Archive and Library

Clarke was a prolific educationist. Apart from publishing books, he wrote journal articles, conference papers, newspaper articles, speech drafts, papers for

⁶⁵ Richard Aldrich, 'The Role of the Individual in Educational Reform', in *Lessons from History of Education: the Selected Works of Richard Aldrich*, ed. R. Aldrich (London: Routledge, 2006), 79-89 (p. 81).

⁶⁶ Michael Erben, 'Biography and Research Method', in *Biography and Education: A Reader*, ed. M. Erben (London: Falmer Press, 1998), 4-17 (p. 5).

⁶⁷ Gary McCulloch, *Cyril Norwood and the Ideal of Secondary Education* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

informal discussions, and book reviews. Two bibliographies of his works compiled by Mary Clarke Field, his eldest daughter, and Mitchell, his biographer, provide evidence for this and will be important documents for reference in this research.⁶⁸ According to these two bibliographies, this research includes Clarke's major books, *Essays in the Politics of Education* (1923), *Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation* (1940), and *Freedom in the Educative Society* (1948). Clarke's other published works, such as journal articles, book reviews, and newspaper articles are main source material too.

The majority of Clarke's works can be found in his personal archive at the Institute of Education Archives, University of London. Apart from journal articles, book reviews, and newspaper articles, there are also some papers which were written for informal discussions of the Moot and the All Souls Group. Also, there are numerous typescripts, manuscripts, broadcasts and speech notes. Clarke preserved the majority of his speech notes, especially after 1945. In total, more than two hundred speech notes are stored in his personal archive. One example of Clarke's speech notes can be seen in Figure 1. It is noticeable that Clarke tended to write down key words rather than full sentences in his speech notes. Therefore, quotations from his notes will reflect this characteristic and, if necessary, words will be added in order to present them in an appropriate form. Clarke's works in his personal archive, in particular his speech notes, are main evidence in this research and are drawn on here for the first time. From these masses of data, one can see the continuity and changes in Clarke's ideas of democracy and education, which were scattered throughout his papers and speech notes rather than concentrated in one or

⁶⁸ Mary Clarke Field, *A Provisional Bibliography of the Works of Sir Fred Clarke* (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1962). F. W. Mitchell, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Fred Clarke', in *Sir Fred Clarke*, 200-224.

Figure 1 An Example of Fred Clarke's Speech Note (Fred Clarke, 'Democracy and Education', Dunedin Lecture, 16th July 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.)

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Additionally, correspondence between Clarke and his wife, colleagues and contemporaries such as Karl Mannheim (1893-1947, a sociologist), Richard Austen Butler (1902-1982, a Conservative politician, President of the Board of Education) and Joseph H. Oldham (1874-1969, a significant figure in Christian ecumenism) is in Clarke's personal archive too. There are reviews on his books and papers, as well as some reports on his speeches and other activities. Biographical data like a short biography by Joseph A. Lauwerys, photographs, obituaries, and tributes, are collected in his personal archive. Several annual reports of the National Foundation of Educational Research are also stored in there.

This research also consults Clarke's personal library of books, which is part of the special collections of the Newsam Library at the Institute of Education, University of London.

Official and Institutional Records

The official records first include the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction* (1943), the Education Bill (1943), and the 1944 Education Act. Second, policy reports, like the Bryce Report on *Secondary Education* (1895), the Hadow Report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926), the Spens Report on *Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (1938), the Norwood Report on *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools* (1943), the McNair Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (1944), the Fleming Report on *The Public Schools and the General Educational System* (1944), *The Nation's Schools* (1945), and *The New Secondary Education* (1947) are involved too. Third, this research also examines the minutes, memoranda, and papers of official committees

such as the Spens Committee, the Norwood Committee, the McNair Committee, and the Fleming Committee, as well as correspondence between R. A. Butler and Clarke. They are all in the National Archives, Kew. Fourth, the meeting minutes, papers and correspondence of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) as well as its first report, *School and Life* (1947), which are located in the National Archives, are also investigated in this research.⁶⁹

In terms of institutional records, at the Institute of Education Archives, there are some minutes and documents of committees and associations which Clarke joined during wartime, for instance, the documents of the 'Special Committee on Secondary, Grammar School, Training College and University Education' of the NUT and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE). Apart from this, the records of the English New Education Fellowship (ENEF) and the World Education Fellowship (WEF), including ENEF Bulletins as well as the programs, papers and photographs of conferences of the WEF, are significant sources. They are also accessible from the Institute of Education Archives. In addition, the records of the Education Sub-Committee of the Conservative Party, especially correspondence between its Chairman, Geoffrey Faber, and Clarke will also be investigated. They are stored at the Conservative Party Archive in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

The Works and Personal Archives of Clarke's Contemporaries

The works of Clarke's contemporaries, including books and articles are

⁶⁹ Clarke was the first Chairman of the Council. His term of office started from December 1944 and ended in February 1948.

analyzed in order to construct the intellectual context of his time. For example, the works of Karl Mannheim, Cyril Norwood, Richard Henry Tawney (1880-1962, an English economic historian) and other intellectuals in the 1930s and 1940s are compared with Clarke's works. Mannheim's paper, 'Planning for Freedom', which was obtained by the researcher via post, is part of J. H. Oldham papers that are stored at the University of Edinburgh Archives. As for the personal archives of Clarke's contemporaries, a small collection of R. H. Tawney's papers, which is at the Institute of Education Archives, R. A. Butler's personal files on the Education Bill, which are at the Conservative Party Archive in the Bodleian Library, and W. Roy Niblett's papers, which are stored at the Bristol University Archives, are also included in this research.

Others

Apart from Clarke's papers for the discussion group, the Moot, which are mainly in his personal archive, this research involves the meeting minutes of the Moot. The records of the Moot are stored at the Institute of Education Archives and in J. H. Oldham's papers at the University of Edinburgh Archives. This research obtained one copy of the records at the University of Edinburgh Archives through the Institute of Education Archives. This copy was donated by Professor William Taylor to the Institute of Education Archives after he completed his research on the Moot. Additionally, this research also examines documents of the All Souls Group, which are included in Niblett's papers and stored at the Bristol University Archives. Furthermore, Professor Richard Aldrich interviewed Clarke's daughters, Claudia and Anna Clarke, in 1997. The transcription of the interview offered by Professor Aldrich is adopted in this research since it provides crucial information and clues to

Clarke's friendship, personality, and educational activities.

1.4.3 Analysis and Interpretation

With regard to the analysis and interpretation of the documents above, several primary principles will be followed in this research. First of all, this research will ascertain the authenticity of the documents, that is 'verifying the author, place and date' of their production.⁷⁰ For example, internal evidence such as Clarke's vocabulary and literary style and external evidence like examination of Clarke's handwriting will be used to confirm the authorship of the documents.⁷¹ The dates, locations and topics of Clarke's speeches will also be cross-checked through his diaries from 1945 to 1951, which are also collected in his personal archive. Meanwhile, this research will take into account the reliability of the documents, namely 'the credibility of the account of an event in terms of the bias of the author, the access to the event and the interpretation of the observer'.⁷² For instance, whether reports about Clarke's public speeches and activities reflected his perceptions and feelings in his speech notes and private letters will be evaluated.

Second, Clarke's context - political, economic, social, religious and intellectual contexts – and his texted will be continuously cross-referenced. As McCulloch suggests, for understanding the information relayed and the author's values, assumptions and arguments in a text, 'it is necessary to comprehend both the text and its wider context'. The context of the text, he continues, will 'help explain the

⁷⁰ Gary McCulloch, 'Historical and Documentary Research in Education', in *Research Methods in Education*, eds., L. Cohen, L. Manion and K. Morrison (London: Routledge, 2011), 248-255 (p. 253).

⁷¹ John Scott, *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 21.

⁷² McCulloch, 'Historical and Documentary Research in Education', 253.

contemporary meaning' of it.⁷³ Besides, in so doing, tensions between individual aspirations and conditioning circumstances can also be observed.⁷⁴ In respect of intellectual context, through paraphrasing Quentin Skinner's words, it means the context of earlier writings and inherited assumptions about educational society and of more ephemeral contemporary contributions to educational thought.⁷⁵ He also argued that 'the nature and limits of the normative vocabulary available at any given time', which are displayed in intellectual context, can aid in the explanation of texts.⁷⁶ Taking account of Clarke's intellectual context, this research will compare his ideas with those of his contemporary intellectuals and show how his works were interwoven with works of his contemporaries.⁷⁷

Third, the infiltrations and permeations between Clarke's personal documents like his papers for informal discussions, speech notes and correspondence, and public records such as official documents and policy reports will also be emphasized since, as McCulloch puts it, 'sources that are normally seen as personal documents can shed light on public issues, while public records may be very helpful towards a greater understanding of even the most personal, intimate and everyday concerns of ordinary people'.⁷⁸

Fourth, the interplay of Clarke's ideas and his actions will be apprehended in this research. Besides, the issuing of his educational thoughts will be seen as the

⁷³ McCulloch, 'Historical and Documentary Research in Education', 253.

⁷⁴ Erben, 'Biography and Research Method', 9.

⁷⁵ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Vol. I the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), xi.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations', 323.

⁷⁸ Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 9.

performance of a type of social action.⁷⁹ In order to discern where Clarke stood on the spectrum of educational debate, as Skinner suggests, ‘we need to recognize the force of the maxim that words are also deeds’.⁸⁰ Moreover, apart from written words, Paul Readman also emphasizes that ‘utterances can be seen to convey particular intentions and have particular impacts, depending on the context, form and mode of their delivery’.⁸¹ Therefore, this research will not only analyze Clarke’s writing and written texts, but also address his speech-acts and spoken texts. Also, for understanding Clarke’s actions, the audience of his personal documents like speech notes, works and correspondence will be addressed.⁸²

Fifth, this research will explore Clarke’s ideas and activities through the lens of Clarke’s social networks, for example, his connection with cultural élites in private discussion groups, policy-makers, and key figures in educational reconstruction. As Susan Ware points out, influenced by feminist biography, even in studying a man’s public life, the importance of the family and friendship networks that nurtured him has been recognized.⁸³ Liz Stanley, a feminist sociologist, also argues that ‘In feminist and cultural political terms, people’s lives and behaviors make considerably more sense when they are located through their participation in a range of overlapping social groups.’⁸⁴ Therefore, she emphasizes that ‘the social networks within which the biographical subject located their activities and work need to be

⁷⁹ Quentin Skinner, ‘Social Meaning and Social Action’, in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. J. Tully (Oxford: Polity Press, 1988), 79-96 (p. 83).

⁸⁰ Quentin Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), xvi.

⁸¹ Paul Readman, ‘Speeches’, in *Reading Primary Sources*, eds. M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (London: Routledge, 2009), 209-225 (p. 211).

⁸² McCulloch, ‘Historical and Documentary Research in Education’, 253.

⁸³ Susan Ware, ‘Writing Women’s Lives: One Historian’s Perspective’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XL/4 (2010), 413-435 (p. 422).

⁸⁴ Liz Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 9.

closely examined'.⁸⁵ In this respect, the examination of Clarke's correspondence will help since, as Miriam Dobson argues, letters 'identify not just the author, but also the intended audience'. On this account, she continues, they 'allow the careful historian to examine the complex web of relationships between individual, family, and society that shapes a person's sense of self and their understanding of the world they inhabit'.⁸⁶

Sixth, this research will be evidentially based. It will make a comprehensive assessment of Clarke's educational ideas and contribution according to his context so as to avoid the danger of over-estimating Clarke's importance. Besides, hagiography, which means that biographers only present the good character of subjects and gloss over their character defects, will be avoided too. As McCulloch analyzes, one of the features of the 'Whig interpretation of history', which was a dominant approach to the history of education in the first half of the twentieth century, is being uncritical and hagiographical about the leaders of the development of the modern systems of public education. This led to 'admiring biographies of politicians, policy makers and administrators of the system', and eliminating 'the mistakes and disputes of such individuals and institutions'.⁸⁷ For amending this, Rotberg suggests that 'Warts and all' is a good policy, which implies to reveal the good and evil literally and to illustrate 'the why and the how'.⁸⁸

Last but not least, this research will adopt the theories of liberal democracy as a theoretical framework and analyze Clarke's ideas and activities in relation to them,

⁸⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁶ Miriam Dobson, 'Letters', in *Reading Primary Sources*, eds. M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (London: Routledge, 2009), 57-73 (p. 69).

⁸⁷ Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (London: Routledge, 2011), 11, 13.

⁸⁸ Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations', 321.

especially the theory of liberal democracy developed in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century England. It saw a tendency that the State was expected to play a more important role alongside other agencies in providing social and political conditions for all individuals to exercise freedom and realize their capacities to contribute to the common good.⁸⁹

1.4.4 Ethical Issues

Since this research combines biographical method and documentary research, the ethical issues arising from Clarke as a research subject require consideration. In general, it is difficult to identify these issues since the interests of dead research subjects are seldom addressed in the literature on research ethics and the ethical guidelines for educational research. However, it does not mean that there is no ethical issue in dealing with dead research subjects. In terms of personal papers and records in historical research, McCulloch and William Richardson emphasize that ‘it is especially important to observe ethical considerations about access and use in cases where the owner of the records may be unaware of their potential significance’.⁹⁰ Indeed, as McCulloch reflected on his own study, a public disclosure of confidential and private material might breach ethical guidelines and might be hurtful and embarrassing for the school or for surviving relatives and friends of the people involved.⁹¹ The devastating influence on the relatives and friends is a key concern in ethical issues. Nevertheless, a more basic concern for researchers is the potential impact on dead research subjects themselves.

⁸⁹ Wilfred Carr and Anthony Hartnett, *Education and the Struggle for Democracy: the Politics of Educational Ideas* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996), 51.

⁹⁰ Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Setting* (Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000), 107.

⁹¹ McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*, 49.

T. M. Wilkinson claims that the interests of dead research subjects should be considered seriously.⁹² He defends the idea of posthumous interests and argues that some interests cared about by living people can still survive death and thus researchers have a duty to respect those interests. For instance, people might value privacy even after their death because they would like to safeguard their reputation.⁹³ In this sense, Wilkinson maintains that 'privacy is an interest with elements that remain the same across life and death'.⁹⁴ Having recognized that dead research subjects also have an interest in privacy to be considered, he points out that to seek consent is a main duty for researchers when they involve the private life of dead research subjects in their own research. However, how can we obtain consent from dead research subjects? Wilkinson draws parallels between dead research subjects and those living subjects who are incompetent and vulnerable. On this account, he argues that the problem of seeking consent is surmountable given that it is possible to obtain proxy consent, based on substituted judgment on best interests.⁹⁵

From this perspective, the ethical issues on Clarke as a research subject need to be taken into account in two ways. First, it can be assumed that personal papers and records in Clarke's archive, which were donated by Claudia Clarke, the next-of-kin of Fred Clarke, have already been agreed to be accessed and used for research purposes. Also, the transcription of the interview with Claudia and Anna Clarke, which was obtained from Professor Aldrich, is also permitted by him for research

⁹² T. M. Wilkinson, 'Last Rights: the Ethics of Research on the Dead', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 19/1(2002), 31-41.

⁹³ Ibid., 37.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 36.

purposes. Nonetheless, Clarke's privacy and reputation should still be respected by not publishing those private affairs which have no public issues involved.⁹⁶

1.5 The Content of the Thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. Aside from the chapter of '**Introduction**', chapter 2, '**Theories of Liberal Democracy**', formulates the theoretical framework which is adopted to interpret Clarke's ideas and activities in this research. Two stages of liberal democracy which were developed in England from the nineteenth century are examined. Clarke's democratic ideas are also located in the historical and theoretical contexts. In relation to chapter 2, chapter 3, '**An English Democracy: 1911-1935**', expounds Clarke's set of democratic ideas, which he formed and preached while he was in South Africa (1911-1929), Canada (1929-1934), and in a World Tour to New Zealand and Australia (1935). These ideas, underlying some of Clarke's early reform proposals for English education and his later viewpoints in the educational debate of the 1940s in England, evolved from English traditions and featured an English democracy. In chapter 4, '**Democracy in Crisis: 1936-1939**', some important features and changes in Clarke's ideas of democracy and education over this period are spelled out. These include Clarke's ideas about free personality, democratic citizenship, and the distinction between community and the State, which he advocated in the face of the threat to democracy from fascism. Furthermore, this chapter also provides a detailed account of Clarke's comprehensive educational plan for the defence of democracy and freedom, which was set forth in Clarke's significant book, *Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation* (1940), and had a profound impact on educational reconstruction after the outbreak of the

⁹⁶ McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*, 49.

Second World War.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explain how Clarke contributed himself to the educational reform of the 1940s in England on the basis of his ideas of democracy. Chapter 5, **‘Towards Reconstruction in Education: 1940-1943’**, discusses Clarke’s vigorous engagement in the campaign for educational reconstruction from 1940 to mid-1943. This includes an analysis of the approaches he adopted to promote his reform proposals, the content of his proposals concerning several main fields of education, and, to his mind, some indispensable preconditions for educational reconstruction. Chapter 6, **‘A New Deal in Education: 1943-1944’**, elucidates Clarke’s contribution to the process of the legislation, that is, from the publication of the White Paper to the passage of the Education Bill. It involves the various actions Clarke took to respond to official documents such as the White Paper, the Education Bill and the 1944 Education Act, and three significant policy reports, the Norwood Report, the McNair Report and the Fleming Report. Meanwhile, by taking into account the extent to which Clarke’s reform proposals became a reality in the new Act, a comprehensive evaluation about Clarke’s contribution to the process leading to the 1944 Education Act is made in this chapter. Following this, chapter 7, **‘The Task before Us: 1945-1952’**, presents how Clarke devoted himself to the implementation of the new Act. This chapter illustrates how Clarke executed his role as the first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), and his other activities which helped put into practice such provisions as ‘secondary education for all’ and the establishment of county colleges. Furthermore, Clarke’s stress on teacher education and the teaching profession, as well as on adult education and democratic citizenship, which was in response to the set-up of the welfare State and a powerful central authority, is also dwelled on. Last, the final chapter, **‘Conclusion’**, draws

conclusions from previous chapters and develops the implications of Clarke's ideas of democracy in the U. K. and internationally over the world. In addition, this chapter will consider the limitations of this thesis and suggest possible scope for further research.

Ch2 Theories of Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy, as a model of democracy, is different from democracy appearing around the turn of the 5th to 4th centuries B. C. in Athens where a large number of the inhabitants of a city state were beginning to think of themselves as citizens of that state, that is, having legal rights including the rights to speak out and be heard and consulted on matters of common interest.¹ At the heart of democracy of ancient Athens is 'an assembly in which all citizens were entitled to participate'. Therefore, it is normally known as 'direct democracy' and a prime example of 'participatory democracy'.² As for liberal democracy, as C. B. Macpherson summarizes, its observable characteristics of the practice and theory are as follows:

Governments and legislatures are chosen directly or indirectly by periodic elections with universal equal franchise, the voters' choice being normally a choice between political parties. There is a sufficient degree of civil liberties (freedom of speech, publication, and association, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment) to make the right to choose effective. There is formal equality before the law. There is some protection for minorities. And there is general acceptance of a principle of maximum individual freedom consistent with equal freedom for others.³

In other words, in general, apart from a firm belief in individual freedom, liberal democracy is primarily characterized by 'a system of representative government

¹ Bernard Crick, *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14.

² Ibid., 18; Robert Alan Dahl, *On Democracy* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 12.

³ C. B. Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 7.

based on democratically elected representatives', that is, 'representative democracy'.⁴

In England, liberal democracy began emerging from the nineteenth century. By the mid-twentieth century, political theorists of liberal democracy had built up a set of ideas which were not static but developed gradually in relation to different political issues and historical contexts. According to Macpherson, there were at least two distinguishable stages in the historical development of liberal democracy. The first is the stage of 'protective democracy', which was happening in the first half of the nineteenth century. The second, beginning from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1950s, is the stage of 'developmental democracy'.⁵ In this chapter, the main features of these stages and their differences will be formulated. Nevertheless, more emphasis will be laid on the second stage at which some characteristics such as enlarging the power of the State in order to secure education for the development of citizens' personality and abilities to pursue a common good, and stressing the necessity of voluntary organizations and individual responsibility to community became predominant. They all help to constitute a theoretical framework for understanding Fred Clarke's democratic and educational ideas as well as his activities towards educational reconstruction.

2.1 Protective Democracy

As Macpherson argues, the first stage of liberal democracy, which was characteristic of the protective theory of democracy, emerged from the early

⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁵ Ibid., 22.

nineteenth century and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and James Mill (1773-1836) were exponents of it.⁶ In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the issue of parliamentary reform revived in England. The first Reform Act was eventually passed in 1832. According to the Act, enfranchisement lay in the adoption of a uniform £10 male household qualification in the boroughs and also lay in the creation of new categories of tenant elector in the counties.⁷ Although under the new Act, enfranchisement was still based on a pecuniary qualification and the increase of electorate was limited, Ian Machin believes that the Act did 'give the country a substantial start in a democratic direction' and, above all, it 'led eventually to a system of democratic representation'.⁸ In other words, by the 1830s, England had developed an embryo system of representation. Meanwhile, the first stage of liberal democracy emerged.

In principle, Macpherson argues that 'liberal democracy has typically been designed to fit a scheme of democratic government onto a class-divided society' and was intended for a capitalist market society.⁹ Indeed, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of political economy was prevalent in English society. It was a set of beliefs deriving from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Adam Smith (1723-1790), a Scottish social philosopher, argued that each person in pursuing his or her own interest could contribute to the well-being of society as a whole. Moreover, in order to generate maximum wealth and employment, capital ought to be employed freely. In this view, a successful functioning of a capitalist economy must depend on political arrangements which

⁶ Ibid., 9, 25.

⁷ Ian Machin, *The Rise of Democracy in Britain, 1830-1918* (London: Macmillan Press, 2001), 20.

⁸ Ibid., viii, 12.

⁹ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 9, 12.

would allow the unfettered use of capital. This doctrine, implying free market and laissez-faire, was conceived as an unshakable tenet by the government and most politicians of the time.¹⁰

Against this background, Bentham and James Mill formulated their Utilitarian ideas, which constituted the basis of 'protective democracy'. Their ideas fell neatly in line with the nineteenth-century economic Liberalism. They assumed that 'every individual by his very nature seeks to maximize his own pleasure without limit'.¹¹ Furthermore, for them, since wealth was basic to the attainment of pleasure, each one would seek to maximize his own wealth without limit. With this law of human nature, a society would become 'a collection of individuals incessantly seeking power over and at the expense of each other'. In order to keep the society from flying apart, a structure of law would be needed.¹² Due to the need for law, Bentham and James Mill argued that the role of the State was to make and enforce laws which were necessary for individuals to pursue their interests without risk of arbitrary political interference, to participate freely in economic transactions, to exchange labour and goods on the market, and to appropriate resources privately.¹³ In other words, there should be minimal state intervention, which is one of the major features of 'protective democracy'.

In addition, since for Bentham and James Mill 'by the grand governing principle of human nature every government would be rapacious', Macpherson points out that a crucial issue for them would be the production of a political system

¹⁰ Hugh Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy: Britain 1832—1918* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 97.

¹¹ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, 27.

¹³ David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), 95.

which would 'protect the citizens from rapacious governments'.¹⁴ The solution to this issue, to their mind, was a system of democratic representation. James Mill's 'Essay on Government' (1820) provided a clear explanation of this. The essay was written in 1819 when the demand for parliamentary reform had revived.¹⁵ Hence, this essay represented James Mill's position in the reform movement. He believed that 'the interest of the community, considered in the aggregate, or in the democratical[sic] point of view, is, that each individual should receive protection, and that the powers which are constituted for that purpose should be employed exclusively for that purpose'.¹⁶ In order to prevent the government from abusing its power, James Mill argued that the community should choose their Representatives, which would operate as a check.¹⁷ In this essay, he supported universal male suffrage even though, in his view, only men over the age of forty could vote.¹⁸ Moreover, he proposed 'lessening duration of the representatives' for ensuring that the powers of a checking body shall not be turned against the community 'for whose protection it is created'.¹⁹

Similar to James Mill, in his 'The Plan of Parliamentary Reform' (1817), Bentham advocated 'virtually universal suffrage'.²⁰ In his other work, 'The Radical Reform Bill' (1819), he also championed 'secret, universal, equal, and annual suffrage'.²¹ However, he excluded the possibility of allowing children and females

¹⁴ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 34.

¹⁵ Jack Lively and John Rees, 'Introduction', in *Utilitarian, Logic and Politics*, eds. J. Lively and J. Rees (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 1-52 (p. 4).

¹⁶ James Mill, 'Essay on Government', in *Utilitarian, Logic and Politics*, eds. J. Lively and J. Rees (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 53-95 (p. 71).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁰ Jeremy Bentham, 'Plan of Parliamentary Reform', in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, published under the superintendence of his executor, John Bowring, Vol. III (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 443-557 (p. 452).

²¹ Jeremy Bentham, 'Radical Reform Bill', in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, published under the

to vote.²² Also, the electorate should meet the requirements of literacy and the qualification of 'householdship'.²³ More significant, the electorate would be given power to dismiss by petition and vote a wide range of officials.²⁴ Frederick Rosen argues that the 'dislocative' power placed in the hands of the electorate to remove any administrative and judicial officer testifies to Bentham's determination to keep government fully accountable to the people.²⁵ On this account, the nature of democratic representative system envisaged by Bentham and James Mill, in Macpherson's terms, was 'protective' in that it 'could in principle protect the governed from oppression by the government'.²⁶ Wilfred Carr and Anthony Hartnett explain further that, for Bentham and James Mill, 'democracy was to be simply an instrument for making government accountable to private individuals for securing their wants and protecting their freedom'.²⁷

Overall, David Held maintains that the model of protective democracy with the idea of 'freedom from overarching political authority' was 'the perfect complement to the growing market society', but it neglected that 'a core element of freedom derives from the actual capacity to pursue different choices and courses of action'.²⁸ In reality, this weakness was remedied by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and it became one of the key issues for exponents of developmental democracy.

superintendence of his executor, John Bowring, Vol. III (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), 558-597 (p. 558).

²² Ibid., 559.

²³ Ibid., 564.

²⁴ Jeremy Bentham, *Constitutional Code* Vol.1, eds. F. Rosen and J. H. Burns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 30-33 (Ch V, Section 2 & 3).

²⁵ Frederick Rosen, *Jeremy Bentham and Representative Democracy: A Study of the Constitutional Code* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 166.

²⁶ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 22.

²⁷ Carr and Hartnett, *Education and the Struggle for Democracy*, 48.

²⁸ Held, *Models of Democracy*, 98.

2.2 Developmental Democracy

Macpherson indicates that by the 1850s a new model of liberal democracy, namely developmental democracy, appeared. The new model saw democracy primarily as ‘a means of individual self-development’.²⁹ In this shift, J. S. Mill, a proponent of Utilitarianism and Liberalism, played a crucial part. Therefore, he can be regarded as a forerunner of developmental democracy. In the 1880s, the British idealists and the new liberals took his ideas a step further and developed a set of beliefs which dominated the concept of democracy until the 1950s.

2.2.1 Forerunner of Developmental Democracy: J. S. Mill

J. S. Mill, a friend of Bentham and son of James Mill, was influenced by them to a great extent. Consequently, he was in favor of a representative democracy too. He claimed that ‘the ideal type of a perfect government must be representative’, since ‘all cannot, in a community exceeding a single small town, participate personally in any but some very minor portions of the public business’.³⁰ Despite this, there were some notable differences in their respective designs of a representative system.

First of all, unlike Bentham, who insisted on equal suffrage, J. S. Mill argued that a representative democracy in which ‘the interests, the opinions, the grades of intellect which are outnumbered would nevertheless be heard, and would have a chance of obtaining by weight of character and strength of argument an influence’

²⁹ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 22.

³⁰ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, ed. J. Gray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 256.

was ‘the only true type of democracy’.³¹ He believed that intellectual élites were important for originating new truths, ideas and standards of excellence, and raising the quality of society as a whole.³² In his *Autobiography* (1873), J. S. Mill recognized that he owed a debt to Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* (1835 & 1840) in which the dangers of the government of the numerical majority were articulated.³³ Tocqueville (1805-1859), a French political thinker and historian, observed that, in America, there was ‘the tyranny of the majority’. That is to say, ‘the majority...exercise a prodigious actual authority’. Therefore, he noted that ‘there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion’.³⁴ Inspired by Tocqueville, in *On Liberty* (1859), J. S. Mill also noticed that ‘the will of the people’ merely meant ‘the will of the most numerous or the most active part of the people’, that is, ‘the majority’. An alarming consequence of this, he averred, was ‘collective mediocrity’.³⁵ In order to prevent from mediocrity, in his *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), he maintained that people with ‘mental superiority’, such as employers of labour, foremen, bankers, merchants or manufacturers, the liberal professions, graduates of universities and so on, be admitted to a plurality of votes.³⁶ This was eventually carried out by the Second Reform Act of 1867, under which the well-to-do could vote more than once.³⁷ What is noticeable is that although J. S. Mill’s concern over mediocrity was not an essential characteristic of developmental democracy, it was later manifest in Clarke’s retention of élites or excellence in a democratic system of education.

³¹ Ibid., 326.

³² F. W. Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill on Education in Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 43.

³³ John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1960), 134.

³⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London: Everyman’s Library, 1994), 256, 258, 263.

³⁵ Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, 74.

³⁶ Ibid., 336.

³⁷ Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy*, 125-126.

Second, whereas Bentham and James Mill excluded women from universal suffrage, J. S. Mill championed women's suffrage. He considered 'difference of sex' to be 'as entirely irrelevant to political rights, as difference in height, or in the color of the hair'.³⁸ Moreover, he indicated that since women were regarded as 'a subordinate class, confined to domestic occupations and subject to domestic authority', 'they would not the less require the protection of the suffrage to secure them from the abuse of that authority'.³⁹ In 1867, J. S. Mill, then in a three-year period as a radical MP for Westminster, moved an amendment as to women's suffrage. Although his amendment was lost in the end, his motion encouraged the formation of local societies, which joined in a federal organization, that is, the National Society to Women's Suffrage, in November 1867.⁴⁰ Only after the passage of the Representation of the People Act of 1918 could a small portion of women start having a vote.⁴¹

Third, as Rosen analyzes, unlike Bentham, who mainly focused on the protection of the people from the ruling class, J. S. Mill 'makes the condition of the people, their readiness and preparedness for representative government, his prime concern'. In other words, for J. S. Mill, the success or failure of a representative system depends on 'the capacity of the people to sustain it'.⁴² Indeed, J. S. Mill stressed the necessary development of the labourers' abilities and was confident in democracy as a means of this development. He believed that 'education of intelligence and of the sentiments' would be carried down to the very lowest ranks of the people when they

³⁸ Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, 341.

³⁹ Ibid., 342.

⁴⁰ Machin, *The Rise of Democracy in Britain, 1830-1918*, 64.

⁴¹ Ibid., 143.

⁴² Rosen, *Jeremy Bentham and Representative Democracy*, 185.

were exercising their franchises.⁴³ However, he refused to allow any person 'without being able to read, write, and...perform the common operations of arithmetic' to vote.⁴⁴ Therefore, he argued that 'universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement'.⁴⁵ Moreover, he contended that 'the means of attaining these elementary acquirements should be within the reach of every person, either gratuitously, or at an expense not exceeding what the poorest, who earn their own living, can afford'.⁴⁶ In this respect, as mentioned in chapter 1, the State would have a major part to play. J. S. Mill's emphasis on the provision of education, which would help the development of the people and in turn help sustain a representative democracy, was reinterpreted by the later exponents of developmental democracy and became one of its principal features.

Additionally, one important point to make is that although J. S. Mill put forward some ideas which marked a shift of focus from the stage of protective democracy to that of developmental democracy, he did not depart from the first stage completely. As Macpherson stresses, J. S. Mill did recognize that the existing distribution of wealth and of economic power made it impossible for most members of the working class to develop themselves at all, or even to live humanly.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, he thought the class inequality accidental and remediable and seldom questioned a capitalist market society.⁴⁸ Moreover, Held also points out that 'Mill arrives at a vision of reducing to the lowest possible extent the coercive power and regulatory capacity of the state'.⁴⁹ Indeed, as F. W. Garforth indicates, on education, J. S. Mill

⁴³ Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, 326.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 330.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 52.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁹ Held, *Models of Democracy*, 111.

believed that the State may require or compel education, but it must not prescribe how or from whom it shall be obtained.⁵⁰

2.2.2 Developmental Democracy: British Idealism and New Liberalism

As Michael Freedden argues, by the second half of the nineteenth century, some postulates had been evolved, such as ‘constitutional and institutional arrangements to ensure unfettered functioning of individuals within the framework of the law, with concomitant of limited, responsible, and representative political power’.⁵¹ These postulates remained unchanged to a great degree even after the 1880s. However, from then, instead of focusing on constitutional or parliamentary reform, the later advocates of developmental democracy laid an emphasis on social reform. They tended to abandon laissez-faire economics and turned to support enlarged power of the State and its roles in solving acute social problems of the time like unemployment and poverty as well as in ensuring education, which was indispensable for the fullest development of the members of the society. This change resulted from some challenges. Social researchers, Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, found that there was an increasing number of people living under poverty. This was primarily a consequence of low wages, irregular wages, sickness, unemployment, old age, or an unfavorable point in the life cycle.⁵² These social problems led to a rethinking of the role of the State. This was undertaken first by the British idealist, Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), whose ideas were taken up by other idealists like Bernard Bosanquet (1848-1923) and Alexander Dunlop Lindsay

⁵⁰ Garforth, *Educative Democracy*, 124.

⁵¹ Michael Freedden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 22.

⁵² Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy*, 210.

(1879-1952), as well as the new liberals such as Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse (1864-1929) and John Atkinson Hobson (1858-1940).

T. H. Green was a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford from 1860 until his death. His teaching and impact on his disciples like F. H. Bradley (1846-1924), Bosanquet and William Wallace (1843-1897) brought about the systematization of British Idealism, which became the dominant philosophy in the late nineteenth century. Influenced by German philosopher, G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831), Green believed that reality was essentially mental or spiritual. The foundation of the physical world was an eternal consciousness (or God, or Absolute, or Spirit).⁵³ He claimed that ‘there is one spiritual self-conscious being, of which all that is real is the activity or expression’.⁵⁴ Men were related to this spirit being, he continued, ‘not merely as parts of the world which is its expression, but as partakers in some inchoate measure of the self-consciousness through which it at once constitutes and distinguishes itself from the world’.⁵⁵ As he argued further in his book, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, which Fred Clarke read perhaps while he was studying at the Oxford University Day Training College,

Through certain media, and under certain consequent limitations, but with the constant characteristic of self-consciousness and self-objectification, the one divine mind gradually reproduces itself in the human soul. In virtue of his principle in him man has definite capabilities, the realization of which, since in it

⁵³ Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, 3.

⁵⁴ T. H. Green, ‘Review of J. Caird: “Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion”’, in *Works of Thomas Hill Green* Vol. III, ed. R. L. Nettleship (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891), 138-146 (p. 146).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

alone he can satisfy himself, forms his true good.⁵⁶

In other words, the relationship between God and the individual consisted in the pursuit of a true good, which was ‘the complete fulfillment of himself’.⁵⁷ Moreover, the realization of the individual’s capabilities was central to the process of fulfillment.

Among all capacities, a moral capacity was the most important for Green. Moreover, the fulfillment of a moral capacity must also lead to the attainment of a common good. A common good, as Green put it, was ‘a good in the effort after which there can be no competition between man and man; of which the pursuit by an individual is an equal service to others and to himself’.⁵⁸ In effect, from Green’s perspective, the moral capacity was also ‘a free capacity’.⁵⁹ As he indicated, freedom should be ‘a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that, too, something that we do or enjoy in common with others’.⁶⁰ This was what he called ‘freedom in the positive sense’, which implied ‘the maximum of power for all members of human society alike to make the best of themselves’ and ‘the liberation of the powers of all men equally for contributions to a common good’.⁶¹ In this sense, the true freedom was in sharp contrast with ‘freedom from restraint or compulsion’.⁶²

⁵⁶ T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, ed. D. O. Brink (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 206 (Section 180). A copy of this book, which was published in 1899 and annotated by Clarke, is now kept in Clarke’s library, Newsam Library.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 229 (Section 199).

⁵⁸ Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 335 (Section 283).

⁵⁹ Green, ‘Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation’, in *Works of Thomas Hill Green* Vol. II, ed. R. L. Nettleship (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1893), 335-553 (p. 513) (Section 207).

⁶⁰ T. H. Green, ‘Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract’, in *Works of Thomas Hill Green* Vol. III, ed. R. L. Nettleship (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1891), 365-386 (p. 371).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 370.

The development or realization of the moral or free capacity in every citizen was indispensable in pursuit of a common good. On this account, Green acknowledged the key role of the State in developing citizens' capacities. Nonetheless, he did not consent to a high level of state intervention. He emphasized that 'a capacity for spontaneous action regulated by a conception of a common good' could not be generated 'by any influences that interfere with the spontaneous action of social interests'.⁶³ For this reason, he argued that 'the effectual action of the state, i.e. the community as acting through law...seems necessarily to be confined to the removal of obstacles'.⁶⁴ Moreover, he insisted that 'as the prevention of a hindrance to the capacity for rights on the part of children', 'education should be enforced by the state'.⁶⁵ Therefore, although the power of the State was extended by Green to a certain degree, its power was still restricted so that it would not interfere with citizens' independence and self-reliance. For him, the function of the State was simply to 'maintain the conditions without which a free exercise of the human faculties is impossible'.⁶⁶ He believed that the limited extension of the power of the State was sufficient to cope with poverty and other obstacles to a civilized life. By means of legislating to remove the hindrances which prevented proletarians from becoming property owners, and thus acquiring the means to lead moral, independent and political lives, he stressed, socialization of industry and the economy would be unnecessary.⁶⁷

As a disciple of Green, Bosanquet, who studied at Balliol College (1867-1870)

⁶³ Green, 'Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation', 514 (Section 209).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 515 (Section 209).

⁶⁶ Green, 'Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract', 374.

⁶⁷ Norman Wintrop, 'Liberal-democratic Theory: The New Liberalism', in *Liberal Democratic Theory and Its Critics*, ed. N. Wintrop (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 83-132 (p. 96).

and after graduation was elected to a fellowship of University College, Oxford, also supported limited state intervention. For him, the State should mean ‘Society as a unit, recognized as rightly exercising control over its members through absolute physical power’.⁶⁸ It was because of such power that the State could undertake ‘ultimate and effective adjustment of the claims of individuals, and of the various social groups in which individuals are involved’.⁶⁹ Also, due to such power, the State could function as an ‘ultimate arbiter and regulator of claims, the guarantor of life as at least a workable system in the bodily world’, which made it different from ‘the innumerable other groupings and associations which go to make up our complex life’.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Bosanquet emphasized that the absolute power of the State could only be ‘limited to securing the performance of external actions’.⁷¹ Hence, on the part of ‘the realization of the best life’, which was the ultimate end of the State, what the State could do was not to ‘directly promote the end’, but to ‘remove obstacles’, or to hinder a hindrance to the best life or common good.⁷² In other words, State actions must be ‘negative in its immediate bearing’.⁷³ In line with this principle, Bosanquet contended that the State should ‘hinder illiteracy and intemperance by compelling education and by municipalizing the liquor traffic’. However, it should not offer employment and housing directly.⁷⁴

In principle, like Green, Bosanquet refused a great scale of social welfare and the nationalization of industries, which were actively promoted by socialists. In any discussion regarding these ideas, he suggested, ‘the true issue...turns on the

⁶⁸ Bernard Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State and Related Essays*, eds. G. F. Gaus and W. Sweet (Indiana, USA: St. Augustine’s Press, 2001), 180.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 178, 184-185.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

possibility of creating an administration which shall fulfill the requirements of personal responsibility, invention, initiative, and energy'.⁷⁵ He insisted that personal responsibility could not be replaced by State actions, because, for him, failing to leave 'the responsibility to the uttermost possible extent on the parents and the individuals themselves' would be 'fatal to character and ultimately destructive of social life'.⁷⁶ As Peter Clarke indicates, Bosanquet was a 'moral regenerationist', who 'acknowledges that society is imperfect' and 'puts this down essentially to defects in individual conduct and character'. Thus, 'the remedy here is the remoralization of character'.⁷⁷ On this ground, with regard to improving poverty, Bosanquet favored voluntary aid provided by voluntary organizations over State actions. Speaking for the Charity Organization Society, he believed that in evoking men's powers and stimulating their sense of responsibility, voluntary organizations, with 'the extremest skill and subtlety of touch, in the way of arranging facilities and opportunities', would succeed in avoiding interfering with those which had grown up of themselves.⁷⁸ To his mind, voluntary organizations were 'the finest achievements of democracy in the world'.⁷⁹

In a similar vein, A. D. Lindsay, who was once Master of Balliol College, Oxford, stressed that voluntary organizations would play a crucial part in a democratic society. As a Scottish Free Churchman who was actively involved in Anglican circles in the 1930s, he argued that the Christian conceptions of equality and liberty should be regarded as the principles of a democratic society. In terms of the Christian conception of equality, universality was an essential element. By

⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁶ Bernard Bosanquet, 'Socialism and Natural Selection', in *Aspects of the Social Problem*, ed. B. Bosanquet (London: Mcmillan, 1895), 289-307 (p. 290).

⁷⁷ Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Hampshire, England: Gregg Revivals, 1993), 14.

⁷⁸ Bernard Bosanquet, *The Social Criterion* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907), 17.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

universality Lindsay meant ‘the equality not of all members of this or that community but of all men’.⁸⁰ Moreover, for Christians, equality was compatible with, even welcomed and demanded, differences. As Lindsay explained, ‘the practical import of this doctrine was not that all men ought to be treated as if they had equal capacities, but as if they all were equally to count’.⁸¹ In applying this doctrine to education, equality meant that ‘all children have an equal claim that they should be trained to play their part in the community’.⁸² As for the Christian conception of liberty, it did not mean the absence of compulsion or of law, but was manifest in a society ‘which believes that voluntary association, informal uncompelled relations between man and man should play a large part in society’.⁸³ Lindsay pointed out that ‘there are activities essential for the health of the community which cannot be the state’s activities—must be done by independent and free organizations or not done at all’.⁸⁴ The State ‘is to foster, harmonize, and strengthen the free life of the community’. It should be ‘the servant and not the master of the voluntary associations’.⁸⁵ In accepting Bosanquet’s doctrine, Lindsay claimed that ‘its [the State’s] business is to safeguard by harmonious regulation the rich various life of voluntary associations in the state’.⁸⁶ Moreover, he laid an emphasis on ‘the enormous importance in the production of a real public opinion of the innumerable voluntary associations of all kinds which exist in modern democratic society’.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ A. D. Lindsay, *The Modern Democratic State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943), 251.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁸² A. D. Lindsay, ‘Education’, in *A Christian Basis For the Post-War World: A Commentary on the Ten Peace Points*, ed. A. E. Baker (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1942), 75-79 (p. 76). Clarke’s library, Newsam Library.

⁸³ Lindsay, *The Modern Democratic State*, 261, 265.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁸⁶ A. D. Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 77.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

In fact, the distinction between the State and community proclaimed by Lindsay was also emphasized by other Anglican writers. As Matthew Grimley maintains, for Anglican writers like William Temple, Ernest Barker and Lindsay, the idea that a national community was distinguishable from the State, which was developed by Anglicans in the 1830s in order to determine the boundaries of the State while the State expanded to cover areas such as education, ‘offered a useful rhetorical opposition to deploy against Hitler’ in the 1930s.⁸⁸ Although Lindsay insisted on the distinction between the State and community, influenced by Green and Bosanquet, he also affirmed the extension of the power of the State. He argued that the function of the State ‘is to serve the community and in that service to make it more of a community’.⁸⁹ And, ‘if government is to serve the community, and to help to make it more of a community, it has to take on, as it has taken on, all kinds of more positive and constructive functions’.⁹⁰ The State’s principal concern should be education, not only education of the young but also adult education. However, Lindsay highlighted that ‘the state may and does leave some of this education to be administered by other organizations, may, e.g. leave its universities self-governing’.⁹¹ Besides, the State should perform its function in laws and regulations. In a democratic State, the compulsion of laws should be ‘used in the service of liberty’, that is, for maintaining ‘a system of rights’.⁹² It is noticeable that, unlike Green and Bosanquet, who prioritized citizens’ character over their economic conditions, Lindsay claimed that ‘if equality and liberty, so conceived, are the marks of a democratic community, it will be the task of the government of such a community to be sensitively aware of the conditions which are making equality and

⁸⁸ Matthew Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 25, 173.

⁸⁹ Lindsay, *The Modern Democratic State*, 245.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 247.

liberty hard to maintain', such as unemployment. In other words, it should guarantee 'minimum legal rights and a minimum standard of economic security'.⁹³ Even so, Lindsay found nothing wrong with capitalist relations of production.⁹⁴

Clarke's ideas of democracy were influenced by the British idealists considerably. As we shall see in the following chapters, the British idealists' argument that the function of the State was to maintain some conditions like education, which, especially from Green's perspective, was necessary for developing each citizen's moral or free capacity of pursuing a common good, laid a foundation for Clarke's democratic ideas. Moreover, Green's and Bosanquet's emphasis on citizens' independence, self-reliance, and individual responsibility was later expounded by Clarke in relation to education for citizenship. Also, Bosanquet's and Lindsay's distinction between the State and community, and their stress on the significance of voluntary organizations and public opinion for a democracy were also adopted and promoted by Clarke, who was also a devout Anglican and involved in Anglican circles. Last, Lindsay's Christian conception of equality was also manifest in Clarke's interpretation of equality.

As for New Liberalism, in general, although the new liberals assimilated some aspects of British Idealism into their theories, they were inclined to urge a greater degree of state intervention than the British idealists. They were attempting to build up a collectivist theory of the State in order to justify wide-ranging welfare policies.⁹⁵ As Peter Clarke puts it, 'Pragmatic collectivism was presented as the

⁹³ Ibid., 266.

⁹⁴ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 70.

⁹⁵ Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship: The Life and Thought of the British Idealists* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 36.

unifying theme in policy.’ This, in his view, echoed the Fabian or socialist emphasis on a collectivist State aiming directly at the common good.⁹⁶ Therefore, New Liberalism was often known as ‘social Liberalism’ or ‘collectivist Liberalism’.⁹⁷ In effect, after the passage of the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, wider enfranchisement made both Liberals and Conservatives fear that working-class politics would become predominant. Therefore, an outstanding question for Liberals was whether Labour interests could be accommodated within the Liberal Party.⁹⁸ In the face of this concern, ideas proposed by the new liberals were welcomed by some Liberal politicians, such as Winston Churchill (1874-1965, President of the Board of Trade), David Lloyd George (1863-1945, Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Charles Masterman (1873-1927, MP for West Ham North), who fostered the reform of the Liberal government under Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908) and then under Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928). For them, the ideas were useful for justifying the reform.⁹⁹ For instance, the Pensions Act of 1908 and the National Insurance Act of 1911, including unemployment insurance, medical attendance, and sickness benefit, were implemented.¹⁰⁰ These measures embodied some beliefs of the new liberals like L. T. Hobhouse and J. A. Hobson to a certain degree.

L. T. Hobhouse, a leading figure of New Liberalism and sociologist, championed the activist State but still persisted in some essential principles of Liberalism. Like Green and Bosanquet, Hobhouse argued that since ‘personality is not built up from without but grows from within’, ‘it was the function of the State to

⁹⁶ Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats*, 58-59.

⁹⁷ Wintrop, ‘Liberal-democratic Theory: The New Liberalism’, 84.

⁹⁸ Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy*, 145, 147.

⁹⁹ Rodney Barker, *Political Ideas in Modern Britain: In and After the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1997), 33.

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, *The Challenge of Democracy*, 213.

secure the conditions upon which mind and character may develop themselves'.¹⁰¹ For him, social freedom meant 'the maintenance of conditions under which both in private or in public life intelligence, character, and initiative can most freely develop themselves'.¹⁰² However, Hobhouse claimed that the State should provide more conditions. He indicated that 'It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house, and clothe himself and his family.'¹⁰³ That is to say, he conceived the 'right to work' and the right to a 'living wage' as an 'integral condition of a good social order'.¹⁰⁴ Apart from this, he maintained that the State should provide people with access to the means of production and guarantee to the individual a certain share in the common stock.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, through taxation from 'social surplus', namely wealth that 'does not owe its origin to the efforts of living individuals', public assistance should also be offered to sickness, accident, unemployment and old age.¹⁰⁶ He explained that 'the "positive" conception of the State...not only involves no conflict with the true principle of personal liberty, but is necessary to its effective realization'.¹⁰⁷

Although Hobhouse called for the State's responsibility for economic security, similar to Green and Bosanquet, he emphasized the importance of individual responsibility. He questioned: 'If the State does for the individual what he ought to do for himself, what will be the effect on character, initiative, enterprise?' For him,

¹⁰¹ L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism and Other Writings*, ed. J. Meadowcroft (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 69, 76.

¹⁰² L. T. Hobhouse, *Social Development: Its Nature and Conditions* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924), 280. Clarke's library, Newsam Library.

¹⁰³ Hobhouse, *Liberalism and Other Writings*, 76.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 84.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 86, 97, 100.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 64.

‘it is a question now not of freedom, but of responsibility’.¹⁰⁸ He believed that ‘it [a vast organization of State charity] must dry up the sources of energy and undermine the independence of the individual’.¹⁰⁹ Admittedly, his insistence on individual responsibility and independence made him different from socialists. He once criticized socialism for paying too little attention to elements of individual right and personal independence.¹¹⁰ Therefore, although Hobhouse supported the supply of economic conditions by the State, these conditions were simply ‘opportunities of which one man will make much better use than another, and the use to which they are put is the individual or personal element in production which is the basis of the personal claim to reward’.¹¹¹ Moreover, in the face of the fact that in pursuing the economic rights of the individual, ‘we have been led to contemplate a Socialistic organization of industry’, he responded that ‘The State could never be the sole producer, for in production the personal factor is vital.’¹¹² In other words, he did not support the nationalization of industries, which was advocated by the Fabians such as Beatrice and Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw.

Peter Clarke argues that the Fabians were ‘mechanical reformists’, who believed that reform ‘can be achieved by substituting a mechanical for a moral means’, that is, ‘to achieve what the people are incapable of doing for themselves’. By contrast, Hobhouse was a ‘moral reformist’, who ‘believes that reform will flow from the free will, spontaneous endeavours and democratic efforts of the citizens’.¹¹³ As Hobhouse put it, ‘to make the rights and responsibilities of citizens real and living’

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 74-75.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 88.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 101.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 92.

¹¹² Ibid., 79-80, 95-96.

¹¹³ Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats*, 15, 65.

was ‘the justification of the democratic principle’.¹¹⁴ In effect, in his view, democracy ‘assumes that the individuals whom it would enfranchise can enter into the common life and contribute to the formation of a common decision by a genuine interest in public transactions’.¹¹⁵ Moreover, he maintained that voluntary association should play a large and interesting part in building up such activity on the basis of freedom and general will assent.¹¹⁶

Equally, J. A. Hobson, a British economist and journalist, devoted himself to reinterpreting Liberalism. He claimed that ‘the old laissez-faire Liberalism is dead’.¹¹⁷ New Liberalism would ‘accept and execute a positive progressive policy which involves a new conception of the functions of the State’.¹¹⁸ Moreover, it would adopt ‘a vigorous definite policy of social reconstruction, involving important modifications in the legal and economic institutions of private property and private industry’.¹¹⁹ Hobson’s first step for the reinterpretation of Liberalism was to redefine the conception of liberty. Instead of perceiving liberty as ‘absence of restraint’, he defined it as ‘presence of opportunity’.¹²⁰ From his perspective, the opportunities which citizens must obtain in order to secure real liberty of self-development should include, first, ‘an equal share with every other in the use of the land and of other natural resources of his native country’, which could be achieved by means of public ownership of land and taxation of the annual values of land; second, ‘nationalization of the railways’; third, ‘the public ownership and operation of industrial power for sale on equal terms to all who want it’; fourth, ‘the

¹¹⁴ Hobhouse, *Liberalism and Other Writings*, 64-65.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹¹⁷ J. A. Hobson, *The Crisis of Liberalism: New Issues of Democracy*, ed. P. F. Clarke (Sussex, England: The Harvester Press, 1974), 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xi.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

credit of the State'; fifth, 'security of employment and of livelihood' through national insurance; sixth, 'free and equal access of all men to public justice'; last, 'equality of access to knowledge and culture', that is, education.¹²¹

The enlargement of the nature and scope of opportunities helped Hobson justify a new conception of the functions of the State, namely the activist State. As he indicated, 'the attainment of this practical equalization of opportunities involves a larger use of the State and legislation than Liberals of an older school recognized as necessary or desirable'.¹²² As an 'instrument for the active adaptation of the economic and moral environment to the new needs of individual and social life', the State should secure full opportunities of self-development and social services for all citizens.¹²³ The process of the improvement of the material and moral condition of the people, he argued, 'demands an interference by Government with existing rights of private property and private business enterprise, and an assertion through taxation of public rights of property'.¹²⁴ Poverty, for him, was mainly caused by inequality of opportunity.¹²⁵ He criticized those people who claimed that the poor could help themselves either as individuals or collectively without the use of Government for refusing to analyze the conditions of poverty.¹²⁶ Therefore, he insisted that 'economic reform is prior in time', though 'moral reform may be prior in "the nature of thing"'.¹²⁷ As he put it, 'political democracy was almost empty of value without economic democracy'.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Ibid., 97-111.

¹²² Ibid., 113.

¹²³ Ibid., 3.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 133-134.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 165.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 170.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 208.

¹²⁸ J. A. Hobson, *Confessions of an Economic Heretic* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), 176.

Indeed, Hobson's viewpoints were very close to social democracy emerging in the 1880s in England. Social democracy became a competing type of democracy in the 1930s and 1940s and was mainly championed by the Labour Party, while liberal democracy was prevalent among the Conservatives and the Liberals. For example, Clement Richard Attlee (1883-1967), who was the leader of the Labour Party from 1935 to 1955, believed that 'economic inequality is inimical to social justice and liberty'. In the light of this, he insisted that 'liberal democracy based on economic inequality is not enough' and thus 'a democrat must also be a social democrat'. 'Economic equality', he concluded, 'is a necessary feature of democracy.'¹²⁹ Similarly, R. H. Tawney (1880-1962), a well-known social democrat and an English economic historian, also maintained that 'Democracy, in short, is unstable as a political system, as long as it remains a political system and nothing more.'¹³⁰ What he strived for, in effect, was economic equality. In his *Equality*, first published in 1931, Tawney deliberately addressed the origins of inequality in the English society and provided strategies for social and economic equality. For example, he suggested 'an extension of social services accompanied by progressive taxation' for diminishing inequality.¹³¹ Moreover, in some great services, such as banking, transport, power, coal industry, land and agriculture, as well as armaments, upon which the public welfare would be intimately dependent, Tawney argued that 'public ownership' would be required to avoid a concentration of economic power in private enterprises.¹³²

Despite the similarities between Hobson and social democrats, such as a wide

¹²⁹ C. R. Attlee, 'Economic Justice under Democracy', in *Constructive Democracy*, ed. E. Simon (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1938), 113-124 (pp. 114, 119).

¹³⁰ R. H. Tawney, *Equality* (4th ed.) (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952), 221.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 204, 209.

range of social welfare services and public ownership (or nationalization) of great industries, Hobson was different from social democrats in many respects. For instance, he highlighted that economic democracy 'does not imply a rigorous control by the State over the whole body of economic processes'.¹³³ He believed that 'men are both alike and different in their organic make-up of body and mind', and thus 'this likeness and difference should be reflected properly in the organization of industry'.¹³⁴ In this sense, he argued that only key and fundamental industries or what he called 'routine industries' should be under public ownership and control.¹³⁵ Other industries must be left for private enterprise.¹³⁶ After all, in his view, 'an effective operative democracy requires close attention to the inequalities in men in order that special abilities may be utilized for the common welfare'.¹³⁷ As Peter Clarke indicates, Hobson regarded society as a collective organism, in which labour had a truly social function. That is to say, the individual members of society would perform their part as contributors to the general life.¹³⁸ Additionally, Hobson emphasized that for preventing democracy from lapsing into 'a bureaucratic tyranny', a nation must develop 'self-protective intelligence, so as to transmit accurate stimuli to the governing brain, and to exercise quick, accurate checks and vetoes'.¹³⁹

For Hobson, New Liberalism concerned itself not only with 'the liberation and utilization of the faculties and potencies of a nation' but also with 'those of individuals and voluntary groups of citizens'.¹⁴⁰ It was distinct from socialism since

¹³³ Hobson, *Confessions of an Economic Heretic*, 171.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 182.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 199.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 212.

¹³⁸ Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats*, 150.

¹³⁹ Hobson, *The Crisis of Liberalism*, 86.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 95.

it was 'taking for its chief test of policy the freedom of the individual citizen rather than the strength of the State'.¹⁴¹ Moreover, Hobson provided a further statement to illustrate the differences between his theory and socialism.

It [This equal opportunity of self-development and social aid] aims primarily not to abolish the competitive system, to socialize all instruments of production, distribution, and exchange, and to convert all workers into public employees—but rather to supply all workers at cost price with all the economic conditions requisite to the education and employment of their personal powers for their personal advantage and enjoyment.¹⁴²

Accordingly, Peter Weiler argues that Hobson was a 'reform capitalist', not a socialist since the social reforms and state control he advocated were intended to 'create the conditions under which a classical market economy could function efficiently and fairly'.¹⁴³ From this perspective, it can be argued that the most significant difference between liberal democrats and social democrats lay in their attitudes towards capitalism and the ensuing sharp contrast between social classes. Whereas liberal democrats accepted capitalism, a free market and a society with different classes, social democrats launched an acute attack on capitalism and fought for economic equality and a classless society.

In line with Hobhouse and Hobson, Clarke underscored the importance of individual character, responsibility and initiative, as well as voluntary organizations

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 93.

¹⁴² Ibid., 172.

¹⁴³ Peter Weiler, *The New Liberalism: Liberal Social Theory in Great Britain 1889-1914* (London: Garland Publishing, 1982), 168.

especially when the inevitability of a collective State was realized by him from the mid-1930s. He emphasized this more frequently after the welfare state was set up in the post-war period. Furthermore, Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function, as well as his conception of 'equality of opportunity', especially equality of access to education were also reflected in Clarke's ideas about equality and the functions of the State in education. Additionally, like Hobson, Clarke acknowledged the danger of bureaucracy resulting from a collective State and urged the exercise of checks on the State by the community.

Overall, although there were variants in the ideas of the advocates of developmental democracy from the 1880s to the 1950s, especially in the level of state intervention, they all disapproved of the ideology of 'laissez-faire' and minimal state intervention, and turned to agree that a democratic state should exert its power to maintain conditions which were indispensable for the development of individual personality, such as equality of educational opportunity, so that every citizen could contribute to a common good. Although they argued for the extension of the State's power, due to inheriting some postulates of protective democracy, they still insisted on limited State intervention and laid an emphasis on individual responsibility and voluntary organizations, which made for a major difference between liberal democracy and social democracy. Therefore, different from social democrats, they opposed the nationalization of all industries and persisted in a capitalist system or at most a reformed capitalist system. Undoubtedly, it was because of these characteristics that liberal democracy became prevalent among a majority of educationists and politicians in the 1930s and 1940s. As Macpherson claims, it 'touched a chord, especially when liberal societies are confronted by totalitarian

ones'.¹⁴⁴ These characteristics were also absorbed by Clarke and became key themes in his ideas of democracy.

In this chapter, two stages of liberal democracy in English history have been examined. Protective democracy emphasized the protective nature of a democratic system of representation, that is, protection of citizens from oppression by the government. Therefore, it tended to reduce the power of the State to the minimum. As for developmental democracy, the development of citizens' personality and capacities became essential to its doctrines. In order to achieve this, a more powerful and activist State was advocated. Nevertheless, the role of individuals and voluntary associations in checking the power of the State was stressed. In the following chapter, the major features of developmental democracy will provide a theoretical framework and intellectual context for elaborating Clarke's early thoughts on democracy and education in greater detail.

¹⁴⁴ Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, 48.

Ch3 An English Democracy: 1911-1935

By the end of 1935, Clarke had formulated and preached a set of democratic ideas, which were derived from English traditions and featured an English democracy. These later bolstered his standpoints in the educational debate of the 1940s in England. Although Clarke was once Master of Method at the Diocesan Training College (1903-1906) and Professor of Education at the Hartley University College, Southampton (1906-1911), he did not produce any significant works in relation to the ideal of democracy. It was his experiences in the British Dominions, in particular South Africa (1911-1929) and Canada (1929-1934) that played a crucial role in the formation of his democratic ideas. Therefore, this chapter will dwell on Clarke's democratic ideas of the pre-1936 period primarily in the contexts of the Dominions. Meanwhile, this chapter will examine to what extent Clarke's ideas of democracy were characteristic of liberal democracy, especially developmental democracy. Additionally, Clarke's ideas and proposals for a democratic education will also be dealt with since some of them foreshadowed the 1944 Education Act.

3.1 South Africa: 1911-1929

In March 1911, Clarke arrived in Cape Town and accepted the post of Foundation Professor of Education at the South African College, which later became the University Cape Town with Clarke as Dean of the faculty of education.¹ In general, from 1911 to 1929, Clarke did not articulate the doctrine of democracy as explicitly as he did in the 1930s. Instead, the ideal of democracy, as a criterion, underlay and was embedded in his discussions of educational issues, such as the

¹ Aldrich, 'Clarke, Sir Fred', 869.

distinction between the State and society, the relationship between teachers and the government, the integration of liberal education and vocational education, secondary education and women's education. Nevertheless, his educational discussions of this period laid a foundation for his later approach to English democracy and education.

3.1.1 Pursuing a Democratic Education in South Africa

Of all his educational discussions, one primary issue for Clarke was the functions of the State in education and its relation to a national community. On 16 June 1911, Clarke delivered his inaugural lecture, 'National Ideals in Education', at the South African College. In that lecture, inspired by Matthew Arnold's article entitled 'Education and the State', Clarke argued that the effectiveness of a national ideal of education depended on the influence of the State.² As Arnold claimed, through retaining all its power of control over a Government which should abuse its trust, the whole nation would thus 'acquire in the State an ideal of high reason and right feeling, representing its best self, commanding general respect, and forming a rallying-point for the intelligence and for the worthiest instincts of the community, which will herein find a true bond of union'.³ On this account, Clarke maintained that for making a national ideal effective, the key was to 'see that the State adequately represents the true interests of the whole nation, then trust it'.⁴ Moreover, in order to ensure that the State represents the interests of a national community, there must be 'healthy public opinion, free disinterested discussion of educational issues, and ready willingness on the part of all members of the community alike to

² Fred Clarke, 'National Ideals in Education', Inaugural Lecture, delivered at the South African College, Cape Town, 16th June 1911. Clarke papers, FC/3/8.

³ Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature and Other Essays* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1867), 181.

⁴ Fred Clarke, 'National Ideals in Education', Inaugural Lecture, delivered at the South African College, Cape Town, 16th June 1911. Clarke papers, FC/3/8.

study education..., and above all to form judgments upon it free from irrelevant aims and interests'.⁵ Although Clarke did not speak of democracy in this article, the ideas of the State representing the whole nation and the importance of public opinion formed by the community in checking the State implied profoundly a spirit of liberal democracy. In effect, the importance of public opinion for a democracy was also underlined by Lindsay, the exponent of developmental democracy. Furthermore, these ideas were later developed by Clarke into one of his major themes of democracy and informed his actions or activities towards the English educational reform of the 1940s.

Aside from Arnold, the British idealists also had a major impact on Clarke's understanding of the State and society (or community). In fact, 'society' and 'community' were interchangeable terms in Clarke's works. As Peter Gordon and John White argue, 'Clarke transposes mainstream British Idealism directly into educational terms.'⁶ Indeed, in his book, *Essays in the Politics of Education* (1923), Clarke admitted his debt to one of the British idealists, Bernard Bosanquet, and claimed that he 'should like to try the rather ambitious role of attempting to point to some of the implications for education of the general idealist position as he [Bosanquet] has taught us to understand it'.⁷ Of all Clarke's essays in this book, 'Education and Society' reflected the attempt most fully. In this article, he argued that society itself could be an educational means through the medium of social institutions.⁸ The State, as one of the social institutions, was not 'a competitor among educating institutions', but 'the means of sustaining, stimulating, and

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, 186.

⁷ Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, X.

⁸ Ibid., 23, 26.

co-ordinating the real institutions that educate'.⁹ In this view, Clarke believed that the direct educational work of the State itself should simply include those things it could do better than any other agency, such as 'the training of teachers, general organizing and standardizing of instruction, and the medical inspection of children'.¹⁰ Moreover, he argued that in each locality there must be an authority. It would work 'largely through voluntary agencies' and its duty was to 'co-ordinate and supervise, not to supersede' them.¹¹ In other words, to Clarke's mind, 'the real educator' should be 'the whole institutional life of society'.¹² This was a theme which underlay Clarke's discussions of democracy. Furthermore, influenced by Bosanquet, Clarke's thinking on the State and society embodied some characteristics of liberal democracy, especially those of developmental democracy such as limited state intervention, the distinction between the State and community and the crucial role of voluntary organizations in a democracy.

The second issue which concerned Clarke most was the civil status of teachers. In 1916, a 'Discipline Ordinance' for teachers was introduced to restrict teachers' freedom and civil rights. This Ordinance conferred on the Administrator or on the Superintendent the power to enquire into any charge of misconduct by a teacher, and on the Administrator the power to dismiss or suspend any teacher convicted of such charge.¹³ At that time, Clarke delivered a speech, 'The Civil Status of the Teacher', to a conference of English-speaking teachers to oppose the measure and illustrate some principles by which the civil rights and responsibilities of teachers should be determined. More important, he attempted to discover 'some clear criterion of action

⁹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁰ Ibid., 41.

¹¹ Ibid., 42.

¹² Ibid., 41.

¹³ E. G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, Volume I: 1652-1922* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., Ltd., 1925), 167.

which may be taken as the standard for modern democracies'.¹⁴ From his perspective, a teacher 'is sent by society as a trained ambassador to the kingdom of childhood to explain the society which he represents'.¹⁵ Thus, teachers should not be deprived of rights of citizenship. Instead, they should be trusted and thrown upon a heavy responsibility, which necessitated the possession of full civil rights. Clarke explained that 'the teacher who is not entirely free to come and go among his fellows as a man among men, and saturate himself as a free man with real understanding of the free society whose life he has to interpret, is no teacher at all'.¹⁶ Moreover, he argued that teachers were not 'servants of the State', namely 'an agent or instrument of Executive power', since, with such a conception, education would be regarded as a machine and the capture of it would become the supreme end of party strife.¹⁷

In order to protect education from the grasp of party politics, in his presidential address of the South Africa Teachers' Association in 1920, Clarke insisted that 'free citizenship lies at the very heart of his [the teacher's] work and function'.¹⁸ Moreover, he underscored 'the enormous power that an enlightened and united body of teachers might wield' in this respect.¹⁹ However, it did not mean that there must be an inevitable antagonism of interest between teachers and Education Department. Clarke argued that the antagonism between them was 'groundless and mischievous'.²⁰ This prefigured his later ideas about a threefold partnership among the Ministry of Education, local education authorities and voluntary organizations,

¹⁴ Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 117.

¹⁵ Ibid., 121.

¹⁶ Ibid., 122.

¹⁷ Ibid., 124.

¹⁸ Fred Clarke, Presidential Address, delivered at the opening meeting of the Annual Conference of the South Africa Teachers' Association, Cape Town, 29th June 1920. Clarke papers, FC/4/17.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

in particular teachers' organizations, which was a key theme in his democratic ideas and also reflected the ideals of developmental democracy advocated by Bosanquet and Lindsay.

The third issue Clarke dealt with was the definition and content of secondary education. In effect, Clarke was fully aware that very few colored pupils in South Africa could receive a secondary education while facilities for secondary education were more freely accessible to white pupils, which, for him, was 'completely unjust'.²¹ Therefore, as early as 1920, Clarke urged universal secondary education. He argued for 'systematic tutelage over all the early years of adolescence, that is up to the age of 18 or thereabouts'.²² Therefore, 'secondary education for all' must be provided. Moreover, instead of relating secondary education to a 'restricted and bookish course', Clarke hoped that the Education Department 'will press on its schemes for new types of secondary schools' and 'support the schemes with an adequate system of bursaries'.²³ These proposals were developed in another article, 'What is Secondary Education?', which Clarke wrote in 1922. In this article, Clarke clearly defined secondary education as 'the education which is proper to a certain stage of life—the stage of early adolescence from 12 to about 17 or 18'.²⁴ Furthermore, he provided a more complete explanation of the necessity of universal secondary education as follows:

The changed social order, the new demands of industrialism for a high level of skill, the need for education to counter the de-liberalizing influences of modern

²¹ Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 112.

²² Fred Clarke, Presidential Address, delivered at the opening meeting of the Annual Conference of the South Africa Teachers' Association, Cape Town, 29th June 1920. Clarke papers, FC/4/17.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 88.

industry, the growing demands which a democratic order makes upon the knowledge and intelligence of its members—all these and similar demands call for a type of man and citizen who cannot be adequately fashioned within the limits of the primary schools period.²⁵

Nevertheless, Clarke emphasized that universal secondary education did not imply universal compulsion of attendance at a conventional ‘secondary’ school.²⁶ Instead, he urged ‘a much greater diversification of types among the secondary schools themselves so as to cover the diversities of demand and circumstances which have to be met’.²⁷ For instance, apart from the academic course leading to matriculation, commercial, domestic agricultural and general courses should be provided too.²⁸

Moreover, Clarke called for ‘the development on a large scale of the part-time (continuation) type of school’ in the area of secondary education. Also, he maintained that the industrial system should become ‘a part of the total organization by which society trains them [adolescents]’.²⁹ In this sense, he argued for providing adolescents with the opportunities of apprenticeship. This marked a basic difference between his notion of secondary education and that of R. H. Tawney. In 1922, Tawney wrote his book, *Secondary Education for All*, stating the policy of the British Labour Party. In this book, Tawney claimed for ‘a system of free and universal secondary education’.³⁰ Under this system, he maintained, ‘all normal children, irrespective of the income, class, or occupation of their parents, may be

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 87.

²⁷ Ibid., 89.

²⁸ Ibid., 90.

²⁹ Ibid., 89.

³⁰ R. H. Tawney, *Secondary Education for All: A Policy of Labour* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1988), 7.

transferred at the age of eleven plus from the primary or preparatory school to one type or another of secondary school, and remain in the latter till sixteen'.³¹ After reading this book, Clarke indicated that although he agreed on Tawney's 'arguments for universal secondary education as the sheet anchor of a coming democracy', he 'cannot agree that "school"...is necessarily and always the best place for the adolescent'.³² Moreover, whereas Tawney championed free secondary education, Clarke supported the provision of bursaries since he believed that resources could be used to greater social advantage otherwise than by providing for free secondary education.³³

Fourth, over this period, Clarke was dedicated to the integration of liberal education and vocational education. He observed that there were two economic facts which had to be reconciled. On the one hand, the growth of the modern industrial system and the increasing specialization and complexity of its processes made a vocational training of some sort a vital necessity for most people. On the other hand, the industrial machine intensified the desire of the mass of men for an emancipating, liberalizing, liberating education which would help men to rise above the domination of the machine.³⁴ As Clarke indicated, for contemporaries, freedom was no longer conceived as 'absence of restraint', but as 'a positive condition of mind and status which guarantees the individual's self-mastery'.³⁵ For reconciling these two facts, Clarke argued that liberal education and vocational education must be integrated. To this end, one important step was to disentangle the connection between liberal education and privileged classes, which was established from the

³¹ Ibid.

³² Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 96.

³³ Ibid., 94-95.

³⁴ Ibid., 55.

³⁵ Ibid., 56.

time of Aristotle. Clarke called for a universal liberal education in a democratic order since, as he maintained, ‘We should belie the whole theory of our present political institutions if we excluded any individuals or class from being at least potentially free.’³⁶ Apart from this, Clarke retained ‘room and need for a purely “liberal” education’, including history, geography, science, religion, poetry, music and arts, in school curricula and rejected Dewey’s and Keischensteiner’s approach of getting a liberal education through a vocational education.³⁷ He claimed that ‘the real goal of a liberal education’ was ‘supplementing and spiritualizing a vocational education’.³⁸ In the same way, in his article, ‘Technical Education and Its Relation to Science and Literature’ (1917), Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947), an English philosopher, also argued that ‘The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious.’³⁹ For Whitehead, technical education ‘must be conceived in a liberal spirit as a real intellectual enlightenment in regard to principles applied and services rendered’.⁴⁰

Allied with this issue, Clarke opposed the South African policy of secondary education, namely ‘the arrangement which gives “vocational” education to Union and leaves “cultural” education to the Provinces’.⁴¹ For him, it ‘cuts right through the living tissue of secondary education and altogether obstructs any single vision of secondary education as such’.⁴² In essence, his idea was similar to that of the Bryce Report on secondary education, which was submitted in 1895 by a commission

³⁶ Ibid., 60.

³⁷ Ibid., 62, 67.

³⁸ Ibid., 67.

³⁹ A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1962), 74.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 70.

⁴¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary School Courses’, *The Educational News*, South Africa, August 1926. Clarke papers, FC/2/22.

⁴² Ibid.

chaired by James Bryce. This report suggested that technical instruction be comprehended under secondary education.⁴³ It explained that:

...secondary instruction is technical, i.e. it teaches the boy so to apply the principles he is learning and so to learn the principles by applying them, or so to use the instruments he is being made to know, as to perform or produce something, interpret a literature or a science, make a picture or a book, practice a plastic or a manual art, convince a jury or persuade a senate, translate or annotate an author, dye wool, weave cloth, design or construct a machine, navigate a ship or command an army.⁴⁴

In the light of this statement, the report contended that technical instruction and classical instruction not be seen as 'subordinate or co-ordinate divisions under the common head of Secondary Education'.⁴⁵ Equally, Clarke believed that the relationship between the vocational and the cultural in secondary education should not be regarded as 'a distinction between two quite separate groups of "subjects" or activities'.⁴⁶ The integration of them must not be that of 'subjects', but of purpose. Furthermore, he disapproved of the distinction between the vocational and the cultural corresponding to separate classes within the community.⁴⁷

Last, although Clarke rarely touched the issue of gender, he expressed his support for the women's movement at the annual meeting of the Cape Town branch

⁴³ Royal Commission on Secondary Education, *Report of the Commissioners on Secondary Education* Vol. 1, (London: HMSO, 1895) (Bryce Report), 136.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, ' "Vocational" and "Cultural" ', *The Forum of Education*, 6/3, November 1928. Clarke papers, FC/3/6.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

of the Society of University Women. In his address, he argued that ‘women must be free citizens to fulfill their work’. This was because ‘Women’s sphere is by nature the home, but home means the whole domestic economy of mankind.’⁴⁸ He also believed that ‘Sex should be eliminated where it is irrelevant to social necessity and the social situation.’ However, he objected to the fact that women ‘had taken the kind of education that men had’ because ‘this had diverted women from the natural course of development’. Furthermore, although he advocated married women working, which was eventually legislated under the 1944 Education Act (clause 24) in England and he was glad to see that Parliament agreed with him, he did not stand for ‘equal work for equal pay’.⁴⁹ Therefore, it can be argued that his ideas as to women were patriarchal and undemocratic in some respects. Despite the fact that he recognized women’s status of free citizens, he confined their political interests and activities to the area of domestic economy. Moreover, following the inheritance of the Victorian period that the aim of education for schoolgirls was to fit them for their primary social role as wives and mothers, he assumed that women by nature should receive an education which was to develop skills in domesticity.⁵⁰ Above all, he had no question about the unfair distinction of salaries between men and women. All these respects conflict with democratic principles in the twenty-first century.

3.1.2 Some Observations on English Education and Tradition

Over this period, Clarke maintained contact with England constantly. In 1920 and 1927, he spent six months’ leave in England and he was in England during the

⁴⁸ Anonymous, ‘“Home Becoming the Street”: Prof. Clarke on Women’s Education’, [*Cape Times?*], 25th February 1929. Clarke papers, FC/4/31.

⁴⁹ Ibid; Newspaper cutting, ‘Education Has Come a Long Way in U. K., Sir Fred Clarke [Claims?]’, [n. d. 1947?] Clarke papers, FC/5/52.

⁵⁰ Felicity Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education: Schooling for Girls 1902-44* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 4.

long vacations of 1913-1914, 1914-1915, 1921-1922, and 1927-1928. Also, in June and July 1927, he attended the Imperial Education Conference in London as the senior of three delegates from the Union Government.⁵¹ After his return to Cape Town in August 1927, his writings began to concentrate more on the current educational development in England. Moreover, as he did before, the doctrine of democracy was adopted again as a criterion in his assessment of English education.

In October 1927, an article entitled 'An Elementary-Secondary School' was published, in which Clarke remarked on the Hadow Report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926). He indicated that although the object of this report was to 'vindicate secondary education as a necessary phase of all education of everybody rather than as a specialized selective branch of education of an intellectual or social élite', the framers of the report were reluctant to face squarely the 'administrative and the social distinctions of the present system'.⁵² The social distinction was embodied in the existence of the 'Part III' authorities, which 'have statutory control over elementary education only, and yet provide central schools (which on this view are really secondary)'. Clarke argued that the 'Part III' authorities must 'either cease to exist or become authorities for "higher" education themselves', otherwise a system of 'elementary-secondary' would be created. It was at this point, he proclaimed, that the social issues would be raised since the term 'elementary' had a meaning of social depreciation or discrimination in English life and society. Moreover, he questioned: if the school-leaving age was to be raised up to fifteen, as suggested by the report, could the education of those children of the 'working

⁵¹ Fred Clarke's 'Application for the Post of Director of Training at the University of Oxford', 11th May 1928. Clarke papers, FC/4/17.

⁵² Fred Clarke, 'An Elementary-Secondary School', *Hibbert Journal*, October 1927. Clarke papers, FC/2/22.

classes', who mostly stayed in senior classes of elementary schools, be regarded as 'secondary'? According to the Report, these children should receive a real secondary education instead of elementary education. In order to eliminate the social division in the English education system, like the Hadow Report, which suggested the Board of Education to substitute 'primary' for 'elementary', Clarke urged 'the abandonment of the category "elementary" altogether and the classification of all education up to eleven plus as "primary" and of all subsequent education up to the University Stage as "secondary"'.⁵³

In reality, the shift in Clarke's writings reflected his desire to go back to England. In his letter to his wife on 11 August 1927, he expressed his feeling as follows:

I am watching with some interest my reaction to this South African world on trying to take it up again...I can carry on, of course, with reasonable efficiency, and can fill my time with sufficiently interesting and absorbing things. But unless some big new demand turns up I gave the feeling that my work here is done...if I am now to turn to professor's work it might be done better in England than here.⁵⁴

Due to expecting advanced development in his career, Clarke applied for the post of Director of Training at Oxford University in May 1928. As he pointed out in his application, 'I offer myself as a candidate for the post at Oxford partly because I feel

⁵³ Ibid. See also Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent* (London: HMSO, 1926) (Hadow Report), 97.

⁵⁴ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 11th August 1927. Clarke Papers, FC/2/33.

that my main work here [South Africa] is done,...but still more because of the attraction which the possibilities of work in Oxford have for me.’⁵⁵ This application gained support from a very distinguished group, comprising Sir Michael Ernest Sadler, General J. C. Smuts (South Africa’s former Prime Minister, 1919-1924), Ernest Barker (Clarke’s tutor at Oxford University Day Training College and Professor of Political Science at the University of Cambridge), W. G. S. Adams, Sir John Adams (the first Professor of Education at the University of London), Henry Clay, H. B. Butler, etc. Although Clarke was very keen on taking up this post, his application was declined. Michael Sadler (1861-1943), Master of University College, Oxford wrote a letter to Clarke’s wife to explain the reason for this result.

We found ourselves in agreement in thinking that what professional training most needs in England at this moment, and what our Oxford Depart. especially needs, is the conversion of the headmasters of the great Public Schools to the idea and practice of professional preparation for the teacher’s work. In view of this present and unique need, we decided to elect one of the most influential and experienced of the headmasters of Public Schools, Mr. George Smith of Dulwich.⁵⁶

After receiving this result, Clarke expressed his disappointment and discontent with some features in English education, especially those in relation to the public schools in his letters to friends. His complex thoughts and emotions can be inferred from H. B. Butler’s reply to his letter. In the first place, Clarke seemed to doubt the necessary link between the work of the Training Department and the public schools.

⁵⁵ Fred Clarke’s ‘Application for the Post of Director of Training at the University of Oxford’. Clarke papers, FC/4/17.

⁵⁶ Michael E. Sadler to Edith Clarke, 21st June 1928. Clarke papers, FC/4/26.

Butler, the Deputy-Director of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, responded to him as follows:

I do not profess to know enough about the work of the Training Department to know how far it is desirable to maintain touch with the public schools or not. At first sight it might quite as well mean...that they wanted to do something to co-ordinate the teaching methods and ideas of the public and secondary schools.⁵⁷

Moreover, having studied and worked as a pupil teacher in an elementary school, Clarke felt that the prejudice against the elementary school was strong at Oxford. This was refuted by Butler, though he agreed with Clarke that 'the old system and old ideas are more strongly entrenched in England than anywhere else'. Also, he did not concur with Clarke's thought that 'the public schools are the only avenues to success'. At the end of this letter, he encouraged Clarke not to 'take the rejection at Oxford too hardly, or deduce from it that all hope in England is lost'.⁵⁸ Similarly, Clarke received comfort from Sadler, John Dove, and Tawney.⁵⁹

Although this event was Clarke's personal struggle, it revealed severe problems in the structure of English society and education. It also brought Clarke to examine the 'public schools' more closely. In his essay, 'Education and the New English', he pointed out that, in England, there was 'a sharply defined dualism of educational provision: Elementary School, Central School and "Secondary" School for the mass;

⁵⁷ H. B. Butler to Fred Clarke, 6th September 1928. Clarke papers, FC/4/17.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Michael Sadler to Fred Clarke, 31st October 1928. Clarke papers, FC/2/22; John Dove to Fred Clarke, 18th October 1928. Clarke papers, FC/4/17; Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 14th August 1928. Clarke Papers, FC/2/34.

Preparatory School and Public School for the governing class'.⁶⁰ However, this dualism which was connected to the social division was not discerned and questioned by the English people. For example, Ernest Barker argued that 'There is no great gulf between the two'.⁶¹ Clarke also discovered that those who talked of a national system did not 'consider the Preparatory and Public Schools as part of the public whole'.⁶² Moreover, even the Hadow Report hardly mentioned the Public Schools.⁶³ No doubt, for Clarke, the existence of the Public Schools was undemocratic in that they provided pupils with 'the solid advantages which come with the social prestige that they confer'.⁶⁴ In this view, he proposed that principles of political freedom and social equality manifest in the American Declaration of Independence, in which the democracy of the British type asserted itself, be put into practice in England.⁶⁵

For Clarke, to resolve the problem of the Public Schools required 'a social revolution' and 'self-sacrifice' of the Public Schools. From this perspective, he argued that 'recruitment of a few "elementary" pupils into the Public Schools...will not touch the main issue'.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in a speech on 'A Dominion View of English Education', he clarified that what he argued for was not 'the abolition of the privileged form of education for the governing class...but rather to disentangle the genuine educational virtues of that system from the alloy of privilege, class-spirit, and often sheer cant...and to make them accessible to the whole population'.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Education and the New English', *Hibbert Journal*, January 1929, 320-334 (p. 323). Clarke papers, FC/2/22.

⁶¹ Ernest Barker, *National Character and the Factors in its Formation* (London: Methuen, 1927), 245. Clarke's library, Newsam Library.

⁶² Clarke, 'Education and the New English', 323.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 333.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁶⁷ Anonymous, 'Equality in Education: A Dominion View of English Needs', *Times*, 25th February

Apart from paying attention to the education system itself, Clarke observed a key feature of English education which represented an English tradition, namely 'the sense of community'. Clarke indicated that 'If we watch an English School of the best and most characteristic type at work, we can come to no other conclusion than that this infinitely valuable thing which overrides all else is just the sense of community – of English community.'⁶⁸ Moreover, since 'the life of community has always been a free and spontaneous thing', he observed, English people made the corresponding claim for their schools as well. Therefore, they secured the freedom of the growth of schools at all costs and had the deep suspicion of large-scale organization under the direction of officials. In this sense, a school, in the English community, was 'a community living a life' rather than 'a hieroglyphic State-machine contrived to rubber-stamp a whole population' or 'a mill to fashion neutral material after a standard pattern'. The English tradition of the autonomy of the school as a community was developed later and conceived as a significant device for maintaining a democracy by Clarke. Nevertheless, Clarke also noticed that this tradition was often confused by 'custom, class-interest and the claims of prestige'.⁶⁹ For example, the Public Schools claimed their independent position since they had a deep conviction that 'the fruitfulness of free and intimate and varied personal contact' would need 'the air of freedom and independent initiative for its full flowering'.⁷⁰ On this account, Clarke maintained that there should be 'a process of clarifying and purifying the basic idea and of rendering it explicit for purposes of

1929.

⁶⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', *Hibbert Journal*, 29/1 (1930), 93-107 (p. 93). Clarke papers, FC/1/21.

⁶⁹ Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', 96.

⁷⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The Philosophy Underlying the System of Education in England', Part 2. *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers' College*, Columbia University, New York, 1929, 75-127 (p. 117)

criticism and adaptation'.⁷¹

Clarke clarified the idea of community by means of expounding three key concepts, that is, 'Universalizing, Differentiation and Integration' and associated them respectively with some aspects of English education.⁷² First, 'Universalizing' meant that everyone should be involved in a national community. The social division in the English education system was the biggest obstacle to it. As Clarke explained, 'Comparison between a private preparatory school and a public elementary school even today will give some idea of the task which the process we have called Universalizing will need to achieve.'⁷³ In this respect, Clarke was in line with inter-war Anglican writers like Temple, Barker and Lindsay, who considered a national community to be cohesive and inclusive, avoiding the exclusion of any sects or economic classes.⁷⁴ With regard to 'Differentiation', in accordance with Temple, Barker and Lindsay whose version of national community was not only inclusive but also pluralist, Clarke argued that although 'a single principle of Community calls for expression in every form of education', the forms of expression 'must shape themselves to the real needs and possibilities of each particular type of community life'.⁷⁵ He believed that 'the rich diversity of organization and effort that English education still reveals' was the best example of it.⁷⁶ As to 'Integration', on the local level, 'the freedom of English schools in matters of curricula' represented the local integration vividly since it provided schools with the chance to respond to local life and needs. However, speaking of national integration, that is, 'the adjustment of school work and policy to the common needs and characteristics

⁷¹ Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', 95.

⁷² Ibid., 99.

⁷³ Ibid., 100.

⁷⁴ Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England*, 12.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 86; Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', 100.

⁷⁶ Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', 100.

of the whole community', Clarke discovered that it 'seems to be less well understood in England'.⁷⁷ For him, the Hadow Report was an exception in this respect. Cyril Norwood's book, *The English Tradition in Education* (1929), was also regarded as a worthy contribution by Clarke in this area even though Clarke commented that it 'is not comprehensive enough in outlook'.⁷⁸ In his view, this book had a 'limitation of outlook' since it was mainly concerned with 'boarding school[s]', that is, the public schools, and a 'particular social class'.⁷⁹ Moreover, Clarke indicated that:

...so long as experienced and well-informed writers can speak of pupils who pass from elementary schools through a course of secondary education as "recruits to the governing class" it is clear that the spirit of community has not yet achieved its perfect work.⁸⁰

Admittedly, Clarke appreciated the value of the sense of community, but he did not accept the English tradition completely. He elucidated it and adapted it to a more democratic social order.

3.2 Canada: 1929-1934

Due to the failure of his application for the post at Oxford University, Clarke looked for other possibilities. In September 1929, he arrived in Canada and became Professor of Education at McGill University in Montreal. Not long after his arrival,

⁷⁷ Ibid., 102-103.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 105.

⁷⁹ Clarke's annotations, in Cyril Norwood, *The English Tradition of Education* (London: John Murray, 1929), 48. Clarke's library, Newsam Library.

⁸⁰ Clarke, 'Community: An Estimate of the Vital Principle of English Education', 105.

he set up a mission for himself, that is, 'to stand for the English point of view' in Canada.⁸¹ He explained it further to his wife.

Things have gone so far in the American direction that a tonic of the English spirit is the thing needed now and coming from S. Africa rather than from England direct, I am in a better position to administer it. England has a secret that those people need badly and the thing to be done is to live it, quite as much as to preach it.⁸²

Two phenomena which showed America's influence on Canada worried Clarke most. One was a tendency towards 'planning' as a solution to economic crisis. The other was to misinterpret the principle of equality when it was applied to the issue of secondary education.

3.2.1 Planning in Democracy?

In autumn 1929, the global economic system was shaken by the onset of the Great Depression. By the early 1930s, as Robert Service points out, the concept of 'planning' became a great vogue around the world. Central state direction of economic development gained favour as politicians and journalists reported that the Soviet Union was avoiding the financial catastrophe that was engulfing the western economies.⁸³ In reality, for the Soviet Union, state planning was an integral part of Marxist Socialism or Communism in order to remedy some drawbacks of the

⁸¹ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), [n.d.; January 1930?]. Clarke papers, FC/4/36.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Robert Service, *A History of Modern Russia* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 170.

capitalist system.⁸⁴ Therefore, as early as 1920, the first general plan, which was known as the Geolro Plan and was for the electrification of Russia, was implemented.⁸⁵ From 1928, Joseph Stalin undertook a series of actions to establish hyper-centralized administrative institutions. In economics, collectivization of agriculture and a Five Year Plan as to industrialization were enforced.⁸⁶

Germany, with severe economic problems and mass unemployment, was one of the western countries which adopted the concept of planning to resolve these problems. From the late 1920s, the National Socialist Party, which claimed to be able to heal the wounds of a capitalist society, started gaining support from the public. In 1932, it finally became the largest party in the Reichstag.⁸⁷ In 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed as Chancellor. From then, Weimar democracy was dismantled and a Fascist regime was set up.⁸⁸ In economics, like the Soviet Union, in June 1933, Hitler announced the first 'Reinhardt Program' with 'the Law to Reduce Unemployment', followed by a second plan in September 1933.⁸⁹ Equally, by 1933, the public in America was also keen on planning, which they believed would bring stability to them.⁹⁰ In 1933, after Franklin Roosevelt was elected as President, the New Deal, which mainly included the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the National Industrial Recovery Act, was launched.⁹¹ All this embodied the notions of state intervention and planning.

⁸⁴ M. K. Dziewanowski, *A History of Soviet Russia* (The third edition) (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1989), 182.

⁸⁵ P. J. Bernard, *Planning in the Soviet Union*, trans. I. Nove (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966), 56.

⁸⁶ Service, *A History of Modern Russia*, 169-170.

⁸⁷ Mary Fulbrook, *History of Germany 1918-2000: The Divided Nation* (the second edition) (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 50.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 68.

⁹⁰ Peter Fearon, 'Hoover, Roosevelt and American Economic Policy during the 1930s', in *Capitalism in Crisis: International Responses to the Great Depression*, ed. W. R. Garside (London: Pinter Publishers, 1993), 114-147 (p. 127).

⁹¹ Ibid., 129-133.

Canada was also heavily influenced by the Great Depression. Michiel Horn indicates that 'Of all the western countries, only the United States suffered a greater economic decline during the downswing than did Canada.'⁹² Under the circumstances, the concept of 'planning' also attracted a few intellectuals and senior civil servants.⁹³ In the face of the tendency towards 'planning', that is, direct state actions, Clarke argued that "“Planning” as Communist Russia understands it, and individual growth as North America understands it, can hardly be made compatible except on the basis of a philosophy the construction of which has not yet begun.”⁹⁴ In his address on 'An Educator Looks at the Crisis', Clarke illustrated the implications of 'planning' more clearly. For him, 'Control by the Sacred Plan' was 'the essence of Dictatorship'.⁹⁵ A 'Plan' was not 'a constitution determining broad modes of functioning', but a thing which 'determines precisely and with finality the exact ends to which that functioning shall be directed'. 'The difference', he added, 'is the vast difference between Organism and Organization.' Moreover, the 'Plan' in education would mean:

steady pressure from outside, courses of study, that are, in effect, official creeds, teachers who are merely the loud-speakers of authority, and the whole thing stressing docility, unquestioning obedience, initiative only within the strict limits of the Plan, and a general willingness to stay put.⁹⁶

⁹² Michiel Horn, *The Great Depression of the 1930s in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 3.

⁹³ Ibid., 7.

⁹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The State, Education and Liberty', *The Canadian Forum*, December 1932. Clarke papers, FC/1/46.

⁹⁵ Fred Clarke, 'An Educator Looks at the Crisis', Address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, 26th April 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

In view of this, he denied the claim that 'Democracy is consistent with a planned society as a whole.'⁹⁷

Indeed, Clarke recognized the necessity of control for restoration of order. However, instead of choosing Dictatorship, control from without, Clarke insisted on democracy, control from within, which must rely on discipline. As he claimed, 'for democratic control, we seek a discipline that is self-imposed'.⁹⁸ The demand for discipline in a democracy brought him to call for the reconstruction of discipline. In contrast with the Progressives in North America, who considered discipline as negative and forgot that education was necessarily discipline, he argued that 'all education that is not a blind and cowardly surrender to whim and impulse is discipline'.⁹⁹ Looking at the economic crisis, he believed that 'the root problem is moral and spiritual, one of the reconstruction of stable values, and of sure discipline to achieve those values'.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, for Clarke, 'a reconstruction of discipline' should imply 'a comprehensive ideal of self-building that will give to both individuals and society a satisfying moral and spiritual shape'.¹⁰¹

The recognition of the necessity of discipline in a democracy led Clarke to recommend an 'inward shift of the focus of the educational process' as a way for saving democracy, which he called 'Inwardness'.¹⁰² The opposite side of inwardness is 'Externalism', which, he explained, 'consists, essentially, in a settled

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Fred Clarke, 'The Key to To-morrow-I: The Reconstruction of Discipline', *The New Era*, February 1932, 44-47 (p. 44); Fred Clarke, 'Life, Profession and School', Address to the Conference on Education for Nursing, St. John, New Brunswick, 26th June 1932. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁰⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Life, Profession and School', Address to the Conference on Education for Nursing, St. John, New Brunswick, 26th June 1932. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Fred Clarke, 'An Educator Looks at the Crisis', Address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, 26th April 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

habit of placing all the springs of our action...and all the burden of responsibility outside of ourselves'.¹⁰³ As he discovered, people in North America tended to 'find in the wicked "communist" or the equally wicked "capitalist"... the cause of troubles that spring really from ourselves'. He believed that 'such a fashion of mind calls aloud for dictatorship' and thus 'it is the worst possible intellectual basis for any genuine democracy'.¹⁰⁴ In this view, he emphasized that 'preference to the strains, the self-restraints and the high demands on individual character' was what 'a free democracy must involve'.¹⁰⁵ This reflected another feature of developmental democracy, that is, the importance of individual responsibility and character, which was advocated by Green, Bosanquet and Hobhouse, and later became central to Clarke's ideas of democratic citizenship.

In addition to 'Inwardness', Clarke claimed that 'voluntaryism' in England 'is the significance of the English educational model for a world where absolutist doctrines of political sovereignty may have to do battle...with truly "national" ideals of education'.¹⁰⁶ For Clarke, the distinction between the State and society, the key to English education and developmental democracy, was also crucial to healing the tendency towards direct State actions and the shirking of individual responsibility in North America. Later, Clarke developed the idea that community was a real educator and regarded it as a chief characteristic of his so-called 'English democracy'.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Saving Democracy', *The Teachers' Magazine*, Vol. XV, No. 66, April 1933, 8-12 (p. 10).

¹⁰⁵ Fred Clarke, [No title], Broadcast of introductory talk in series provided by eastern Canadian universities under the auspices of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, 23rd November 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/9.

¹⁰⁶ Clarke, 'The Philosophy Underlying the System of Education in England', 86.

3.2.2 Equality or Egalitarianism?

Aside from the tendency towards 'planning', Clarke indicated that, in North America, egalitarianism, which lay in a system of education putting all alike, brilliant, average and dull, through the High School, was also against democracy.¹⁰⁷ For the sake of saving democracy, Clarke re-examined the idea of equality. For Clarke, negatively, equality meant 'the repudiation of all *Privilege*'. Positively, it must be interpreted 'in terms of an *organic society*', which was like 'that of Plato, a system of harmonized *functions* to which all the individuals are related in some way or other', which, as mentioned in chapter 2, was also advocated by Hobson. Moreover, 'Certain of these functions, like Government, stand higher in the scale of value than certain others, like garbage disposal.' Clarke believed that 'The principle of Equality is fulfilled and not violated, if each individual functions where he is best fitted, and has the rights and "privileges" belonging to his function.'¹⁰⁸ In effect, Clarke's interpretation of equality was also consistent with Lindsay's Christian conception of equality. As mentioned in chapter 2, for Lindsay, equality did not mean that 'all men ought to be treated as if they had equal capacities, but as if they all were equally to count'.¹⁰⁹ Based on the interpretation of equality, Clarke claimed that 'selection' must become one of the aims of education for an organic society.¹¹⁰ Moreover, in universal secondary education, selection should be understood as 'selection of the right type of education for each kind of need', rather than that of pupils 'for a single form of education'.¹¹¹ In the light of this, Clarke maintained that, in Canada, the main task was to work out 'diverse forms of educational

¹⁰⁷ Clarke, 'Saving Democracy', 9.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Lindsay, *The Modern Democratic State*, 252.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, 'Saving Democracy', 9-10.

¹¹¹ Fred Clarke, 'Some Issues of Modern Secondary Education', Address to Ontario Education Association, 7th April 1931. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

provision'.¹¹²

Additionally, according to the principle of equality, Clarke claimed that 'Discrimination' should be conceived as 'a first principle in our policies of secondary education'.¹¹³ As he argued, 'the crisis in secondary education' was:

how to transform a system headed in the main for mass indoctrination and equal progression at an average common level into a system headed for differentiation at the earliest opportunity, according to types of individuality and ability, and capacity to serve the community.¹¹⁴

In North America, 'influenced by a superficial notion of Equality', the central problem of selection was ignored. A result of it would be 'an undistinguished mass of comparative futility'.¹¹⁵ In accordance with J. S. Mill's concern over mediocrity, Clarke claimed that aristocracy and democracy were not antithetical. Clarke pointed out that aristocracy was a tradition which stretched back to Plato. Its deepest faith was that men 'were not equal in respect of natural powers and of what they were fitted to do in the service of the common good'. This faith, for Clarke, was not only 'the historic truth' but also 'the facts of human nature'. As a consequence, Clarke argued that it should not be altered in a democracy. Moreover, since democracy 'lives by securing nothing less than the best from all its members', he believed that 'Try as we will, we cannot avoid the implications of aristocracy'.¹¹⁶ In view of this,

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis in Secondary Education' (Summarized statement of an address by Professor F. Clarke of McGill University, to the High School Principals' Association at the Easter Convention of the Ontario Educational Association), 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Clarke, 'Saving Democracy', 10.

¹¹⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Some Issues of Modern Secondary Education', Address to Ontario Education Association, 7th April 1931. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

he clearly opposed a classless society as follows:

A democracy that does not set itself to discover its own natural aristocracy and to go on discovering it is doomed in the end to sterility or extinction. The ideal of a level, undistinguished *classlessness* is proving so much to the taste of our present day dictators that we ought to be suspicious of its claim to be a democratic essential. True democratic equality is a much deeper and more subtle thing than that. The business of democracy is not to abolish classes or such, but to make classes truly functional and organic, a just and full response of diversity of ability among its citizens to the wide diversity of the community's needs.¹¹⁷

Clarke's support for an organic society and his interpretation of equality in terms of this kind of society, which led him to oppose a classless society, marked a main feature of liberal democracy, that is, the acceptance of a society with classes. This also made Clarke's ideas of democracy different from those of social democrats such as the Fabians, Attlee and Tawney.

Having confirmed that aristocracy must be inevitable in a democracy, Clarke took a step forward to elaborate the inextricable selection of élites in a democratic system of secondary education. He stressed that 'The issue is not whether you will have an élite, but what *sort of élite you will have and then set yourself to the production of it, if you do choose.*'¹¹⁸ An élite, he argued, should be selected 'on the basis not of birth but of merit proved through a long discipline' and 'with no regard

¹¹⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The Prospect in Canadian Education', *McGill News*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1935, 20-22, 58-59 (p. 21).

¹¹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Some Reflections on Secondary Education', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 3/1 (1933), 67-86 (p. 75). Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

to irrelevant considerations of wealth or blood'.¹¹⁹ Since this had not been realized in North America, Clarke proclaimed that 'what America has to learn is that selection, so far from being undemocratic, may be more truly democratic, more conducive to liberty, than its own prevailing technique of a generous but undistinguished universalism'.¹²⁰

Apart from justifying the necessity of selection in secondary education, Clarke put forward some rough ideas as to the techniques of selection. What he envisaged was an 'Observation and Sorting Chamber' for the age-period of 12-15, 'through which all alike pass for test and observation to be passed on for appropriate treatment as soon as the type has revealed itself'.¹²¹ In the light of this, Clarke compared the curriculum of secondary education to 'a regimen' which was 'a program, envisaging a total result in terms of life-capacity, and adjusting its treatment according to the observed results at each stage'.¹²² In other words, the content of curriculum must be adapted to individual needs. However, Clarke emphasized that the basis of a secondary curriculum for all pupils must be 'the whole system of inherited and developing culture'.¹²³ In Clarke's view, although differentiation was indispensable, it should be carried out 'without abandoning the ideal of community-shared civilization'.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 75-76.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 80.

¹²¹ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis in Secondary Education' (Summarized statement of an address by Professor F. Clarke of McGill University, to the High School Principals' Association at the Easter Convention of the Ontario Educational Association), 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²² Fred Clarke, 'Vocational Factors in the Curriculum', [n.d.; 1934?] (Address to the New Education Fellowship Conference, South Africa, July 1934.) Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis in Secondary Education' (Summarized statement of an address by Professor F. Clarke of McGill University, to the High School Principals' Association at the Easter Convention of the Ontario Educational Association), 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

3.3 Returning to England: 1935

In January 1935, Clarke returned to England and became ‘adviser to overseas students’ at the Institute of Education London. In this year, he not only developed a more comprehensive definition of democracy, which was characterized by an English democracy, but also preached the English democracy. Shortly after returning to England, Clarke had a stronger feeling that his country was facing an ‘inversion of nineteenth century Liberalism which has assumed such a variety of menacing forms in Fascism, Hitlerism, Communism and the rest’.¹²⁵ Confronted by the threat from a totalitarian absolutism, Clarke believed that ‘in British social philosophy, British institutions, British education, there is to be found a healing virtue for the present sickness of the nations’. For Clarke, ‘the notion of school as above all else a process of active community life rooted in a great tradition may well be of the essence of the British idea’. This virtue was important for England and the British Dominions. On the one hand, as Clarke observed, ‘Demands are being put forward in England at this moment which would appear to be incapable of realization except through thorough-going measures of State control.’ On the other hand, the Dominions ‘may be passing out of the phase of a State domination that has hitherto been inevitable’. Therefore, there was ‘a very marked movement towards the English conception of the school itself as an autonomous community with its own life and roots rather than a publicly-provided service-station’.¹²⁶

In another essay, Clarke also referred to the concept of community. However, his laid more emphasis on the relationship between a wider community and the State,

¹²⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘The British Idea in Education’, Address to the Conference in New Ideals in Education, Oxford, April 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

which he had elaborated in the 1920s. Because Clarke was aware of the fact that the overwhelming force of the modern State was brought to bear in the region of education, he re-emphasized and reiterated that 'education is primarily a function of Society and not directly of the State at all'.¹²⁷ He explained that 'intimacy of contact, flexible adaptation of treatment, encouragement and utilization of the spontaneous, the original, the creative...seem to be at once essential to the educative process and unattainable by the characteristic methods of the State'. In view of this, he called for 'a reconsideration of the functions of the State'. Basically, he agreed with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the eighteenth century French philosopher, on finding the character of the State 'in law, in the formal, universal, and common'. Clarke argued that the commands of the State 'must be confined to the sphere of the truly common and must not go beyond what is necessary to secure by the erection of a general framework of action the real freedom of action of the forces of Society'. They included, Clarke propounded, four parts as follows: first, the securing of a necessary minimum of education for all alike with provision of the necessary material facilities; second, the guaranteeing of essential liberties; third, financial assistance within the limits of resources to all socially valuable forms of educational efforts that need it, and to guarantee reasonable equality of access to educational opportunity; fourth, general stimulus and enlightenment, in the form of inspection, criticism, dissemination of information, coordination of efforts and so on.¹²⁸ In effect, the functions of the State in securing a necessary minimum of education for all alike, guaranteeing educational opportunity, and providing financial assistance along with general stimulus and enlightenment to all socially valuable forms of educational efforts coincided with the ideals of liberal democracy, especially those

¹²⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Notes on Education in Relation to State and Society', [n.d.; June 1935?]. Clarke papers, FC/1/53.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

of developmental democracy.

The conception of community, implying the autonomy of the school and the society as a real educator, was later turned into a crucial element of an English democracy by Clarke when he made his world tour to the British Dominions, including western Canada, New Zealand and Australia from May to September. For example, in a speech in Dunedin, New Zealand, he pointed out four 'modern weaknesses' in the development of democracy: (1) 'stress on Rights and [a] conception of Rights as a gift rather than a personal victory'; (2) 'discrete individualism and so reaction of external force[s]'; (3) 'superficial, mechanical, [and] inorganic equality as well as "superstition of election"'; (4) '[the mind] of "Bourgeois"'.¹²⁹ A consequence of these weaknesses was that 'democracy gets what it thought it wanted and finds the result inclines towards a lifeless, mechanical, [and] uniform monotony which violates the central principle of rich [and] spontaneous personality'. It also failed to 'achieve a society, organic, diversified and vital which is yet free'. In order to remedy them, Clarke put forward several principles of modern democracy. First, the basic principle was that '[the] supreme earthly form of value is Personality'. Second, '[the] community needs all the individual can give'. Moreover, 'he gives it in his own way' and 'he gives it consciously in the interest of the whole'. Therefore, the 'whole weight of community is behind him in guaranteeing Sanctity of Personality'.¹³⁰

On the basis of these principles, Clarke argued that the key to the English form

¹²⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Democracy and Education', Dunedin Lecture, 16th July 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

of democracy was an 'organic, functional [and] spontaneous community'.¹³¹ Furthermore, he interpreted three elements of the French ideal of democracy, that is, equality, liberty and fraternity, in accordance with his principles of modern democracy. For Clarke, equality must be regarded as 'a state in which the power of the community was placed at the disposal of each in the same degree, and in which contributions to the community must be one's own and given in one's own way'. Fraternity should imply 'the duty of the individual to make his contribution with a strong and active realization of the common interest'. As for liberty, Clarke claimed that there was a sharp contrast between the British notion of liberty and that of North America. In America, he believed, 'liberty was regarded as the right of the individual to get what he could from the community, but with the British people it was more what they could do for the community'.¹³² In order to preserve the English form of democracy, he maintained that genuine democratic citizens must be produced. For this purpose, a genuine education should enable citizens to obtain 'a sure self-knowledge'. It should also 'encourage a spontaneous sense of the needs of the community' and reintroduce the word, discipline, into educational thinking. Furthermore, it was necessary to guard against the deification of the State, which set political values above spiritual ones.¹³³ The English form of democracy, emphasizing the formation of free personality and individual contribution to the common good in a community which was 'organic, functional and spontaneous', featured some key themes of developmental democracy, in particular those ideas formulated by Green and Hobson and the idea of distinction between the State and community advocated by Bosanquet and Lindsay.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Newspaper (Otago) report on Clarke's speech: 'The Democratic State: Ideals of Education', 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

¹³³ Ibid.

Meanwhile, Clarke was interviewed in New Zealand. In line with what he claimed in his address, he encouraged people in New Zealand, who, in his impression, ‘complain bitterly about a mechanized educational system and have not the stomach to break loose and start schools of their own, quite free of the State’, to ‘foster local interest in education’.¹³⁴ ‘For the spirit of real education’, he continued, ‘can never be manufactured by the State; it must find its roots in the life and aspirations of the community.’¹³⁵ In addition, in Australia, since people there deemed ‘[the] State inevitable as [an] educational instrument’, which resulted in ‘mechanism, leveling down, emasculation, [and] externalism’, Clarke suggested the autonomy of the school as one of the solutions. Furthermore, he encouraged teachers to build up a ‘responsible partnership with the community’. He believed that an ‘organic relation to the community’ would serve since it would bring about “‘free” public opinion’ as well as ‘inspiration and nourishment by growth from below rather than by imposition from above’.¹³⁶ No doubt, the ideal of an English democracy at the heart of which was an organic, functional and spontaneous community came into shape in Clarke’s mind and was preached by him vigorously in 1935.

In addition to preaching an English democracy, Clarke also started being involved in English educational reform by submitting memoranda to the Spens Committee on secondary education, which was set up in 1933 under the chairmanship of Sir Will Spens, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and reported at the end of 1938. In 1935, Clarke submitted two memoranda. One was

¹³⁴ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 20th July 1935. Clarke papers, FC/4/35; Fred Clarke, ‘A Plea for the Autonomous School’, *National Education*, 1st August 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/59.

¹³⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘A Plea for the Autonomous School’, *National Education*, 1st August 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/59.

¹³⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘The Teacher in the Coming World’, N. S. W. Teachers’ Federation, Sydney, 1st August 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

‘Some Influences Affecting Secondary Curricula in the Dominions’, in which Clarke mainly illustrated the features and tendencies in secondary education in four Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.¹³⁷ The other one was submitted by the New Education Fellowship (NEF) of which Clarke was a leading member. In addition to the memorandum itself, some representatives of the Fellowship such as Tawney and Clarke were to attend a meeting with the Board of Education in November 1935 to give oral evidence in support of this memorandum.¹³⁸ In the 1930s, Clarke once viewed the Fellowship as an important vehicle for promoting his educational ideas which, as will be seen in chapter 4, were different from those of the new educationists such as A. S. Neill. In a letter to his wife in 1936, he confided to her that ‘this organization is somehow to play a part in the work I have to do’.¹³⁹ Consequently, he kept in touch with the Fellowship through attending its conferences and contributing to its journal, *The New Era*. Kevin J. Brehony also points out that the Fellowship in England gained support from Clarke and other staff at the Institute of Education such as the psychologist Susan Isaacs in the 1930s.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as we shall see in chapters 5 and 6, during the Second World War, although Clarke became the President of the English New Education Fellowship in 1942 until the end of 1951, compared to other professional organizations like the ATCDE and the NUT, the Fellowship was no longer a primary vehicle for him to advocate his reform proposals. In effect, after reading its conference report on the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction* (1943), whose preparation Clarke was apparently not involved in, Clarke wrote to the secretary of

¹³⁷ ‘Memorandum by Professor F. Clarke on Some Influences Affecting Secondary Curricula in the Dominions’. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/10/221.

¹³⁸ ‘Memorandum submitted by the New Education Fellowship to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education’. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/10/152.

¹³⁹ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 9th August 1936. Clarke papers, FC/4/33.

¹⁴⁰ Kevin J. Brehony, ‘A New Education for A New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education 1921-1938’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 40/5&6 (2004), 733-755 (p. 750).

the ENEF privately and indicated that the report was ‘unrealistic in its failure to recognize the hard facts of the historical and social situation in England’.¹⁴¹ Moreover, in November 1946, Clarke even admitted that ‘For a considerable time now I have not found it possible to be active in NEF’ and that he would like to retire from the Presidency of the English branch of the Fellowship.¹⁴² As Christopher Clews argues, Clarke regarded the ENEF as ‘a relatively unimportant enterprise’ to which he gave his support when he was able.¹⁴³

In this memorandum of the NEF, some proposals did reflect Clarke’s early suggestions. For example, the Fellowship recommended that ‘all education after eleven should be classed as Secondary’ since it believed that ‘the present administrative division between elementary and secondary education has long been out of date’. Second, it suggested that ‘the curriculum of the secondary school need to be based upon an agreed minimum of general cultural courses, together with a large variety of alternative possibilities for study according to special aptitude and interest’. Additionally, the Fellowship also put forward new techniques of ‘selection’ which were advocated by Clarke later. The Fellowship held that ‘account should be taken, not only of intellectual capacity, but also of artistic and manual abilities, as well as of qualities of character and personality’. As regards the assessment of intellectual ability, a combination of intelligence tests and standardized attainment tests was recommended. For assessing other abilities and more personal qualities, the introduction of the individual record card was urged.¹⁴⁴ Certainly, the

¹⁴¹ Fred Clarke to Mrs. H. Clark, 19th August 1943. World Education Fellowship papers, Institute of Education Archives, WEF/C/temporary reference 46.

¹⁴² Fred Clarke to Mrs. H. Clark, 12th November 1946. World Education Fellowship papers, Institute of Education Archives, WEF/C/temporary reference 46.

¹⁴³ Christopher Clews, *The New Education Fellowship and the Reconstruction of Education: 1945 to 1966*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 2009, 151.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Memorandum submitted by the New Education Fellowship to the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education’. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/10/152.

memoranda submitted to the Spens Committee marked a starting-point of Clarke's engagement in English educational reform and provided clear evidence that the value of his opinions was recognized gradually in his own country.

To sum up, over the period of 1911-1935, Clarke not only set forth ideas for a democratic education while he was based in South Africa and Canada but also developed a set of democratic ideas gradually, which were unsystematic and scattered throughout his essays and speech notes. Moreover, his ideas of democracy embodied the ideals of liberal democracy, especially those of developmental democracy. First, he argued that the real educator should be society or community rather than the State. In line with all exponents of developmental democracy, for Clarke, the main function of the State in education should be to secure equality of educational opportunity for all. Second, like Green, Bosanquet and Hobhouse, Clarke laid an emphasis on 'inwardness', that is, the cultivation of individual responsibility and character in citizens, as a means for saving democracy. Third, in interpreting the conception of equality, echoing Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function, as well as Lindsay's Christian concept of equality, Clarke envisioned an organic society instead of a classless society. Nevertheless, he opposed an educational system with privilege and social division and urged the formation of a national community. Fourth, being consistent with Green's ideals of developmental democracy, Clarke viewed personality as a matter of supreme value since democracy required that each citizen contributed to the common good in his or her own way. Fifth, Clarke reckoned an organic, functional, and spontaneous community as the heart of democracy. In this sense, like Bosanquet and Lindsay, Clarke acknowledged the role of voluntary organizations and public opinion in checking the State. The following chapters will show how Clarke's early educational

and democratic ideas determined his positions on various issues of the English educational reform of the 1940s and, above all, influenced his actions or activities towards the reform.

Ch4 Democracy in Crisis: 1936-1939

From the mid-1930s, the two fascist regimes in Italy and Germany continuously undertook aggressive and military actions. Their ambition to expand territories was even encouraged by the British policies of appeasement in the hope of peace. As early as May 1935, the Anglo-German naval agreement gave Hitler the right to build submarines. Not long after, in October 1935, the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, embarked on the conquest of Abyssinia. By the end of this year, the British government signed the Hoare-Laval Pact to sponsor Italy.¹ In March 1936, Hitler reoccupied the Rhineland. Two years later, in March, he annexed Austria.² Again, in September 1938, Neville Chamberlain and Hitler reached the Munich agreement. The terms of the agreement provided that the German occupation of the Sudeten territories of Czechoslovakia should be completed by 10 October 1938.³ The threat to democracy from fascism amounted to a high level. Meanwhile, the Spanish civil war, which began from July 1936, also evoked a strong sense of defending democracy in the British society. Since the rebels revolting against the republic government were aided by Italy and Germany, they were conceived as 'a coordinated fascist conspiracy against democracy'. Moreover, not only intellectuals but also workers joined the war to 'wage the fight against fascism'.⁴ Despite their efforts, in February 1939, the rebels led by Francisco Franco won the battle.⁵ Furthermore, in March 1939, Hitler broke the Munich agreement and occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia.⁶ Undoubtedly, confronted by

¹ Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties* (St. Albans: Panther Books Ltd, 1973), 307.

² A. J. P. Taylor, *English History: 1914-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 385, 424.

³ Frank McDonough, *Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement and the British Road to War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 69-70.

⁴ Taylor, *English History*, 395-396.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 436.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 439.

onslaughts of the fascist regimes, democracy was in deep crisis.

It was not surprising that Clarke was also conscious of the crisis of democracy. Against this background, on the one hand, he developed some of his earlier democratic and educational ideas which, to his mind, should be held on to in the face of fascism. Indeed, from 1 October 1936, he became Director of the Institute of Education London.⁷ Thus, he was in a better position to promote his ideas and to exert his influence on English education than he was before. On the other hand, due to Karl Mannheim's influence, in 1939, he turned to embrace the concept of planning and wrote a paper which was later published as a significant book, *Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation* (1940). In this book, he responded to Mannheim's notion of 'planning for freedom' and set forth a comprehensive educational plan for the defence of democracy and freedom. This chapter will mainly focus on these two aspects in order to reveal some important features and changes in Clarke's ideas of democracy and education from 1936 to 1939.

4.1 Can We Hold On?

Over this period, in order to safeguard democracy, Clarke developed his concept of free personality, which was related to his ideas about discipline and freedom, as well as original sin and religious faith. Apart from this, he elaborated his ideas about democratic citizenship more completely. For him, free personality and democratic citizenship were crucial to the maintenance of a democracy. Therefore, the first and second parts of this section will examine them in detail. Following this,

⁷ University of London to Fred Clarke, 25th March 1936. Clarke papers, FC/1/33.

the third part will illustrate a key theme in Clarke's democratic ideas, that is, the distinction between community and the State. Clarke expounded it emphatically in this period as a result of the fact that collective State actions had become an inexorable trend in England. Moreover, he envisaged some measures to check bureaucracy arising from collective State actions.

4.1.1 Free Personality

As mentioned in chapter 3, in 1935, Clarke delivered a speech in New Zealand and pointed out that free personality was of supreme value in an English democracy. Free personality implied that each individual could contribute to the community in his own way and in the interest of the whole. One year later, faced with the challenge from fascism, Clarke reiterated the significance of free personality for a democracy. He argued that 'Freedom of personality...is not only a necessary postulate of a democratic society, which rests on the faith that the whole is incomplete and impoverished unless it can count upon the free contribution of each member.'⁸ 'It is', he added, 'the *raison d'être* of democratic society itself.'⁹ This, in fact, embodied Green's ideas about freedom. As noted in chapter 2, for Green, the true freedom denoted the realization of the capacities of all citizens for contributions to a common good. On the basis of this, Clarke believed that 'freely creative personality' should become 'the goal towards which all true education strives'.¹⁰ Admittedly, this was agreed on by proponents of democracy at the time, including the Progressives. At the seventh world conference of the New Education Fellowship,

⁸ Fred Clarke, 'A Review of Educational Thought: The Conflict of Philosophies', *The Yearbook of Education*, 1936, 249-269 (p. 262).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis in Education', in *Church, Community, and State in Relation to Education* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1938), 3-26 (p. 4). Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

of which the general theme was 'Education and a Free Society', the first main symposium of the conference was given over to the topic, 'freedom of personality', since the conference had a belief that 'A free society presupposes freedom of personality.'¹¹ Nevertheless, it is noticeable that although Clarke was present in this conference, his approach to the formation of free personality was generally distinct from that of the Progressives.

Clarke once criticized Percy Nunn's book, *Education: Its Data and First Principles* (1920) and his individualism. He pointed out that 'He [Percy Nunn] sets out from the conception of a human individual as "given" and exhibits education as the guided and assisted *development* of the individual as such.'¹² The error of individualism was to treat the individual 'as though he were such *in vacuo*, as it were, quite apart from any society or objective system of life at all'.¹³ Different from the Progressives, Clarke argued that personality should be 'a result of learning, not merely growth'.¹⁴ Moreover, for the fullness of free personality, it must be developed through 'a stable and all-pervading social and cultural order that laps the pupil round and conveys to him the sustenance of personality'.¹⁵ To Clarke's mind, Rousseau's 'tutor' was precisely 'a symbolical figure standing for the educative action of a social and cultural order'.¹⁶ Clarke emphasized that those who 'believe that the full values of a rich education can be achieved only in an order of the democratic kind are in no position to answer the Fascist' unless this fundamental

¹¹ W. C. Ryan, 'The Seventh World Conference of The New Education Fellowship' (31st July-14th August 1936, Cheltenham, England). Reprinted from *School and Society*, 12th and 19th September 1936, Vol. 44, Nos. 1133 and 1134, pages 321-329 and 361-367. World Education Fellowship papers, Institute of Education Archives, WEF/A/III/193.

¹² Clarke, *Essays in the Politics of Education*, 8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Schools in a Changing World', Maria Grey, 17th April 1937. Clarke papers, FC/1/52.

¹⁵ Clarke, 'A Review of Educational Thought: The Conflict of Philosophies', 251.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

postulate that education must depend on a stable and acceptable social and cultural order was fully accepted.¹⁷

For Clarke, the fascist was completely right in reasserting that ‘the first business of education is to produce the type and that the type, whatever it is, is socially determined’.¹⁸ However, Clarke explained that a major difference between democracy and fascism still lay in the relation of the type to the society. In a democracy, there ought to be a ‘double relation’, that is, ‘on the one hand, the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type, and on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than a type—a Person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him’.¹⁹ This found expression in a statement which Clarke often quoted from an American idealist philosopher, William Ernest Hocking (1873-1966), ‘It [Education] must communicate the type and it must provide for growth beyond the type.’²⁰ By contrast, in a fascist regime, ‘growth beyond the type is the unpermissible thing’.²¹ Since in a democracy, the production of a type was necessary, Clarke called for the acceptance of the fact that ‘there can be no effective education, no adequate achievement of personality, apart from the basic discipline of an established social and cultural order’.²² For him, discipline had a threefold function as follows:

- (1) to organize and direct the essential process of “taking on a culture” by an individual, a process which is at the same time a development and enhancement

¹⁷ Ibid., 253.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., 254.

²⁰ Ibid., 252. See also W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking* (London: Yale University Press, 1929), 257. Clarke’s library, Newsam Library.

²¹ Ibid., 261.

²² Clarke, ‘The Crisis in Education’, 17.

of the individual's own powers; (2) to bring about the "internalizing" of the ruling sanctions and values of the culture so that, from being external standards and compulsions they become consciously accepted and applied as personal criteria; (3) to build up the volitional structure so that action may conform to insight.²³

Clarke concluded that 'These assured, the essentials of Personality are present.'²⁴ In the light of this, he argued that the difference between democracy and fascism was not 'one between freedom and discipline'.²⁵ On the contrary, he believed that discipline was indispensable in a democracy. Nevertheless, he highlighted that the real problem was 'to devise educational forms and procedures from which may emerge a discipline whose service is perfect freedom'.²⁶

In relation to the stress on free personality and the importance of discipline for it, Clarke also explained the nature of freedom and the conditions for it. In a speech he delivered in March 1937, 'The Crisis of Freedom in Education', Clarke gave a clearer illustration of the meaning of freedom than he did in 1935 in New Zealand. In connection with the idea of free personality, which implied that citizens freely contributed to the community, freedom should mean 'the responsibilities, the constant vigilance within and without that self-sovereignty demands, the readiness to make the burdens of the community one's own, and the *tension* which true freedom always brings with it'.²⁷ On this account, instead of accepting John Locke's claim that freedom was a natural right, Clarke concluded that 'it [freedom]

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 7.

²⁶ Ibid., 26.

²⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The Crisis of Freedom in Education', Conference of the New Ideals in Education at Oxford in March 1937. Article reprinted in *Problems in Modern Education*, ed. E. D. Laborde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), 86-103 (p. 87).

is at any rate a high achievement rather than an easy gift'.²⁸

As for the conditions for freedom, Clarke argued that:

...if freedom is to be abiding, fruitful, and serviceable to man, it must rest upon...an agreed social discipline. Its ultimate value and significance, indeed, lie beyond that discipline, but the discipline conditions it and gives it backbone and substance, particularly in its growing stages.²⁹

He asked the English people earnestly to 'look once more at the higher reaches of freedom' so that they could realize that 'the way of freedom is not the primrose path'.³⁰ Similarly, in another speech, 'The Path to Freedom', Clarke declared that it was 'the age of second thoughts about freedom'.³¹ This was because educationally there was a 'naïve assumption' about freedom as 'something already there for the child'. In the light of this, he argued once again that freedom was 'a difficult and painful conquest at the end' rather than 'an easy and pleasant gift at the beginning'. Moreover, he called for 'a shifting of the emphasis from a freedom...to an intelligent and humane discipline that will provide equipment for the real conquest that is to come'. Unlike the Progressives such as A. S. Neill, Clarke opposed the identification of freedom with 'absence of restraint'. He believed that 'a creature of impulses cannot be free'. For him, freedom 'is not something innate which just "unfolds" or "grows" but an acquisition; a developed form taken by the natural power under discipline'.³²

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 100.

³⁰ Ibid., 102.

³¹ Fred Clarke, 'The path of Freedom', Deptford, 21st July 1939. Clarke papers, FC/1/29.

³² Ibid.

Furthermore, Clarke, as a devout Anglican, believed that free personality should be based on religious faith so that it could be consistently and safely held. As he explained, 'For it would seem, without faith in an ideal whole which both sustains and transcends the free personalities, either anarchy will ensue, or a totalitarian order will slip in as it were, to fill the void left by an absent religion.'³³ In the light of this, Clarke suggested that the ground for free personality was 'a religion of love, as an absolute obligation'.³⁴ Moreover, it should be a religion which 'insists upon the striving towards perfection as another absolute obligation'. 'That is', he added, 'it will recognize "sin" as the consciousness of this inescapable tension.'³⁵ The religion, in his view, should be 'a revitalized and regenerated Christianity'.³⁶ Therefore, unlike Rousseau, who believed that man was by nature good and was born free, Clarke proclaimed that original sin was central to free personality and democracy.³⁷ He argued that original sin was 'the very condition of moral health' since 'without it character is never at its full stretch, lacking that completeness of tension between the ideal and the fact which is the structural principle of all adequate personality'.³⁸ Therefore, he claimed that 'Of all the needs of democracy, some abiding sense of the reality of original sin may yet prove to be the greatest.'³⁹ In effect, Clarke's stress on the importance of the Christian faith in a democracy reflected his religious context. As Grimley indicates, in the 1930s, the leaders of the Church of England redirected their argument that England remained an essentially Christian country

³³ Clarke, 'The Crisis in Education', 20.

³⁴ Ibid., 22.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Allan Bloom, 'Introduction', in *Emile or On Education*, trans. A. Bloom (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 3-28 (p. 3).

³⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Education and the Seafarer', Address given at the 6th Cambridge Conference of the Seafarers' Education Service, 28th June 1936. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

³⁹ Clarke, 'A Review of Educational Thought: The Conflict of Philosophies', 269.

whose laws and public life were marked by Christianity in order to defend against the Nazi state, which appeared to be fundamentally unchristian.⁴⁰ In education, James Arthur also points out that in the 1930s many Christian educationists expounded ‘a theologically informed view of education out of a desire to respond to the challenges that surrounded them in the form of fascism, Nazism and communism’.⁴¹ Clearly, Clarke was one of them.

4.1.2 Democratic Citizenship

In this period, Clarke also developed his ideas about democratic citizenship in accordance with the ideals of developmental democracy. Similar to Green, Bosanquet and Hobhouse, who underlined individual responsibility and character in a democracy, Clarke argued that ideal citizens should be ‘free’ and ‘repsonsible’.⁴² That is to say, citizens were to contribute freely and responsibly to the community. Clarke believed that in a democracy, ‘the maintenance of the whole system depends upon the securing of moral integrity and responsibility in the individual citizen’.⁴³ Based on this ideal, he claimed that full education for citizenship covered both ranges. One was the ‘capacity to contribute intelligently and disinterestedly to the sustaining and furthering of community’. The other was the ‘capacity to participate in management (State)’, which involved ‘techniques’, ‘moral qualities of restraint, tolerance, [and] disinterestedness’, as well as ‘intellectual qualities of clarity, integrity and knowledge’.⁴⁴ For the cultivation of these two capacities, in Clarke’s

⁴⁰ Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England*, 173.

⁴¹ James Arthur, ‘Christian Commentary and Education 1930-1960’, *History of Education*, 41/3 (2012), 339-359 (p. 340).

⁴² Fred Clarke, ‘Britain Old and New in Education’, [Bitteshange?], 24th March 1936. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁴³ Clarke, ‘A Review of Educational Thought: The Conflict of Philosophies’, 258.

⁴⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Training of the Teacher’, Ashridge, 12th July 1937. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

view, 'all good teaching contributes to good citizenship'. Therefore, he contended that there were 'citizenship values in ordinary subject-teaching'.⁴⁵ This was in line with his earlier perspective that 'Citizenship is not like cookery, a technique; it is a life, and the whole range of education is needed for its production.'⁴⁶ Moreover, he believed that 'a diet of poetry gives far sounder stiffening for citizenship than a diet of civics'.⁴⁷

This indirect approach to education for citizenship was also reiterated by Clarke in the Congress on 'Education for Democracy'. Due to a strong sense that democracy was endangered by fascism, the Congress was held in New York in August 1939. About two weeks after the Congress, the Second World War broke out. As the general theme of this Congress suggested, 'No more important problem faces civilization than the defense and advance of democracy.'⁴⁸ Above all, 'No more important problem faces America than the education of the citizen.'⁴⁹ Hence, education for democratic citizenship was a primary issue for the Congress. It proposed that citizens should be trained to develop their intellectual capacities to participate in public life and take on their duty and responsibility. For instance, Ernest Bevin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union of England, maintained that 'The vote and rights of citizenship...should be exercised with a great sense of responsibility and as duty.' In the light of this, he believed that 'it is necessary to develop ability to examine, judge and arrive at a sound decision'.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, 'An Educator Looks at the Crisis', Address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, 26th April 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Education for Democracy*: The proceedings of the Congress on education for democracy held at Teachers College, Columbia University, August 15, 16, 17, 1939 (NY: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939), 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ernest Bevin, 'Forward Democracy', in *Education for Democracy*, 121-134 (pp. 128-129, 130).

Apart from citizens' intellectual capacities, the Congress also stressed the development of citizens' character. For instance, Josiah Stamp, a British economist, argued that 'democracy is more than a form of government and more than a set of liberties and privileges; it is really the development of the universal sense of responsibility and self-sacrifice'.⁵¹

Additionally, the Congress also discussed the forms in which education for citizenship should be carried out. Historically, in America, citizenship was taught directly through social studies, including history and civics.⁵² Therefore, some weaknesses in American education for citizenship like 'the lack of reality in the subject matter', 'the failure of schools in general to provide adequate and continuing experience in the practice of democracy', and 'the difficulty of finding...teachers with those personal and professional qualities needed for a program', were identified by the Congress.⁵³ Similar to the American approach, Sir Ernest Simon, who founded the AEC in 1934 in England, also advocated a direct instruction of citizenship.⁵⁴ By contrast, speakers such as John Murray and Clarke disapproved of identifying education for citizenship with a formal teaching of civics, especially in the English context. Murray, Principal of the University College of the South West of England, argued that 'Democracy is not a school subject, though Civics may figure in some time-tables.'⁵⁵ 'Schools', he stressed, 'to turn out citizens, must be real communities with a friendly atmosphere, and the civilities, and a concrete

⁵¹ Josiah Stamp, 'Essential Characteristics of Democracy', in *Education for Democracy*, 42-59 (p. 59).

⁵² C. L. Hahn, 'Education for Citizenship and Democracy in the United States', in *The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy*, eds. J. Arthur, I. Davies, and C. Hahn (London: Sage, 2008), 263-278 (p. 264).

⁵³ Seminar 3: 'Education for Citizenship' reported by the Chairman, E. M. Hunt, in *Education for Democracy*, 388-390 (p. 388).

⁵⁴ McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction*, 99.

⁵⁵ John Murray, 'Education for Democracy in Great Britain', in *Education for Democracy*, 92-106 (p. 98).

life.’⁵⁶ Moreover, he indicated that the Public Schools in England were the best example of this.⁵⁷

Equally, although in four British Dominions, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, civics was taught for the purpose of ‘political training’, namely ‘direct training for specific forms of social and political membership’, Clarke indicated that in England there was a prevalent view that ‘formal courses in civics are at best a waste of time and at worst positively harmful to the achievement of a vital and enlightened citizenship’.⁵⁸ From his perspective, this could be partly attributed to the fact that England was a land ‘where so much social teaching comes by tradition and the silent eloquence of a rich historical environment’. Furthermore, in England, ‘the school is truly organic to the society it serves’.⁵⁹ Consequently, he believed that ‘The English prejudice against direct teaching may have some justification.’⁶⁰ Despite this, he also stressed that ‘what may be valid in England is not necessarily valid in the Dominions, with their quite different social and historical situation’.⁶¹

4.1.3 The Distinction between Community and State

From the mid-1930s, Clarke became aware of the inevitable tendency towards collective State actions in England. This trend was manifest in a strong campaign for planning in respect of social services and economic development due to the impact

⁵⁶ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘Education for Citizenship in the British Dominions’, in *Education for Democracy*, 149-168 (pp. 162-163). Clarke papers, FC/1/22.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 163.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 165.

⁶¹ Ibid.

of the Great Depression on the British society. As John Stevenson and Chris Cook indicate, although by the mid-1930s, 'Britain was on average better paid, better fed, better clothed and housed, and healthier than it had ever been', 'there remained a substantial section of the population which existed in conditions of chronic poverty, poor housing and ill-health'.⁶² This is also argued by Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann. They claim that 'While middle-income diets were improving, at the bottom of the scale among the long-unemployed and in the most waged-depressed industries such as textiles, more people were probably under-nourished than in the late twenties.'⁶³ Several contemporary investigations proved this. For instance, according to Seebohm Rowntree's study in York in 1935-6, 31.1 percent of the working-class population or 18 percent of the total population were found to be in poverty, half of them in primary poverty.⁶⁴ Herbert Tout's study also showed that by the end of the 1930s, in a relatively prosperous town such as Bristol, 10.7 percent of families fell below the poverty line.⁶⁵ Moreover, in 1936, John Boyd Orr published *Food, Health and Income* and pointed out that a tenth of the population including a fifth of all children, were chronically ill-nourished, while a half of the population suffered from some sort of deficiency.⁶⁶ Additionally, the scenario of bad housing was also depicted by a recent study. Malcolm Smith indicates that at the end of the 1930s, there were still over 600,000 houses that could be classed as slums.⁶⁷ Stevenson and Cook maintain that although the issues of poverty, ill-health and bad housing pre-existed unemployment, they were aggravated by it.⁶⁸ From 1931 to

⁶² John Stevenson and Chris Cook, *Britain in the Depression: Society and Politics 1929-1939* (London: Longman, 1994), 39-40.

⁶³ Branson and Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties*, 241.

⁶⁴ Stevenson and Cook, *Britain in the Depression*, 42.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁶⁷ Malcolm Smith, *Democracy in a Depression: Britain in the 1920s and 1930s* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 35.

⁶⁸ Stevenson and Cook, *Britain in the Depression*, 61.

1935, the number of unemployed never fell below 2 million people.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the number of long-unemployed rose from 53,000 in 1929 to 300,000 in 1932. The greatest numbers were concentrated in the staple industries, such as coalmining, shipbuilding, the iron and steel industry, and cotton textiles.⁷⁰

Due to the economic crisis and ensuing social problems of the 1930s, some groups argued for the centralized planning for a wide range of social and economic activities and expansion of the social services, for example, the Political and Economic Planning (PEP) and the 'Next Five Years' Group. The PEP was formed on 15 March 1931.⁷¹ It set itself the goal of drafting a plan of national reconstruction and a 'planned society' in Britain.⁷² In effect, in February 1929, the editorial team of the *Week-End Review*, which was the founder of the PEP, had published a planning programme entitled 'A National Plan for Great Britain'.⁷³ This plan, which was drafted by Max Nicholson, launched an attack on the chaotic economic and social order of that time and argued that the necessary process of readjustment must be carried on through planning.⁷⁴ According to Daniel Ritschel's analysis, the scope of this Plan was well-nigh universal, including 'a central Transport Board for road, rail, and aviation; a national Fuel and Light Council to co-ordinate energy supplies; a system of planned trade through a National Trade Council; a new Town Planning Act; and Industrial Psychology Institute'. Furthermore, the Plan called for industrial reorganization and recommended that the nation's industries be grouped into a series

⁶⁹ Ibid., 65.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 70.

⁷¹ Arthur Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political Agreement', *English Historical Review*, 79/311(1964), 285-298 (p. 287).

⁷² Daniel Ritschel, *The Politics of Planning: The Debate on Economic Planning in Britain in the 1930s* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 145.

⁷³ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 146-147.

of federated 'Industrial Councils'.⁷⁵ Apart from this, out of research, criticism and discussion, the PEP published the fortnightly broadsheet, *Planning*, and a series of reports on all aspects of British economy and society.⁷⁶ In the 1930s, they produced reports on several basic industries, as well as on housing (1934), the social services (1937), the health services (1937) and the location of industry (1939).⁷⁷

On the other hand, the 'Next Five Years' Group was established under the lead of Clifford Allen, at a meeting on 3 February 1935.⁷⁸ On 26 July 1935, it set forth a program which could be put into immediate effect during the five-year lifespan of one parliament, that is, *The Next Five Years: an Essay in Political Agreement*. As Ritschel indicates, in the introduction to this program, the 'Next Five Years' Group maintained that British democracy was on 'trial', menaced by its own failure to deal with its economic problem and foreign totalitarian ideologies. The challenge was to demonstrate that it could act positively and authoritatively, without sacrificing any political liberty and individual freedom.⁷⁹ From this perspective, in its programme, it proposed the planning of economic development and the reorganization of industry. Apart from this, the extension of cheap milk facilities, the introduction of food subsidies, the raising of the school leaving-age to sixteen, with part-time education to eighteen, and the development of a more steeply progressive tax structure were advocated as well.⁸⁰

In the face of the tendency towards collective state actions in England, as indicated in chapter 3, in 1935, Clarke re-emphasized his earlier idea that education

⁷⁵ Ibid., 147-148.

⁷⁶ Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political Agreement', 288.

⁷⁷ Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), 39.

⁷⁸ Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political Agreement', 294.

⁷⁹ Ritschel, *The Politics of Planning*, 259.

⁸⁰ Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political Agreement', 294.

was a function of society, not of the State. Moreover, he called for 'a reconsideration of the functions of the State'.⁸¹ One year later, considering the fact that 'in the immediate future, the State is destined to play an increasing part in shaping the forms and possibilities of English education', he believed that it was the time to 'clear our minds as to the purposes for which the action of the State is to be invoked and the principles by which that action is to be directed'.⁸² To this end, he made a comparison between 'the absolutist, authoritative State systems now taking shape in Europe' and 'the centralized, bureaucratic systems which have been created in the oversea Dominions'.⁸³ In the former, there was one feature which was unacceptable by a democracy, that is, 'the thorough-going identification of State and society'.⁸⁴ Influenced by Bosanquet, Clarke believed that if the society was completely identified with the State, the vigor and initiative of society would be eliminated completely. Moreover, this would cut off one of the State's most vital functions, that is, 'keeping open the way for continual enrichment and re-making of society by new vision arising in free individuals'.⁸⁵ By contrast, in the latter, for those communities in the Dominions, 'the State is just a collective utility..., an instrument readily available for the re-making in a hurry of a new society on old lines'. Furthermore, the State, as an instrument, 'could meet the need on the thorough-going democratic lines which for them were fundamental'. Thus, there were 'public schemes systematically planned from the ground up while not excluding voluntary effort of the old sort'.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Fred Clarke, 'Notes on Education in Relation to State and Society', [n.d.; June 1935?]. Clarke papers, FC/1/53.

⁸² Fred Clarke, 'The State: Master or Servant?', *The New Era*, Vol.17, No.3, March 1936, 61-65 (p. 61).

⁸³ Ibid., 62.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 63.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

In the light of the sharp contrast above, like Bosanquet and Lindsay, who argued for extended powers of the State but still stressed the distinction between the State and community, Clarke argued that collective State actions were compatible with democracy as long as the distinction was maintained. Moreover, the State must be subordinated to the community.⁸⁷ It should simply be ‘a device for securing the essentials of Law and order in a way that enhances rather than impairs the vitality and fruitfulness of community functioning’.⁸⁸ In another paper, ‘The Crisis in Education’, Clarke also argued that towards the community, the State should be an ‘agent’.⁸⁹ ‘It is when State and community are identified’, Clarke continued, ‘that democratic values in education can no longer have free course and this seems to be the condition now reached in totalitarian countries.’⁹⁰ In effect, in a group meeting of the ‘Council on the Christian Faith and the Common Life’, which was set up by Churches in Britain in 1935, this paper was envisaged to be one chapter of a book entitled ‘Church, Community and State in Relation to Education’.⁹¹ Eventually, this book was represented at the conference on Church, Community and State at Oxford, July 1937 and published in 1938.⁹²

On this account, Clarke reiterated his ideas concerning the functions of the State in education, which, as mentioned before, coincided with the ideals of developmental democracy. He argued that the State should be used by society ‘only

⁸⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Training of the Teacher’, Ashridge, 12th July 1937. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Clarke, ‘The Crisis in Education’, 19.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Minutes of the Meeting of Group on Christian Education, 15th April 1936. Clarke papers, FC/1/12. The idea of writing a volume to explore the subject of was proposed by J. H. Oldham, Fred Clarke, J. W. D. Smith and Schönfield. J. H. Oldham to H. P. Van Dusem, 10th Dec. 1935. Clarke papers, FC/1/12.

⁹² J. H. Oldham, ‘Introduction’, in *The Churches Survey Their Task: the Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937, on Church, Community, and State* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1937), 9-55 (p. 52).

where process of law was required for such ends as the guarantee of opportunity, the provision of means, the securing of minorities, the maintenance of standards, and the protection of the reasonable freedom of the teacher'.⁹³ More important, the State should guarantee 'scope and opportunity for spontaneous group-efforts'.⁹⁴ In other words, the State should only 'subsidize, supplement, [and] co-ordinate', 'not to supersede or to dominate' these voluntary organizations. This was what Clarke meant by 'partnership' between the State and voluntary organizations.⁹⁵ The relationship between the State and voluntary organizations, which was approved by Bosanquet and Lindsay, was also one of the features of developmental democracy. Apart from this, considering the fact that a thorough-going use of the State brought about 'a mechanizing of administration' in the Dominions, Clarke argued that, in using the State, 'There will always be operating at least two powerful checks upon any possible excesses of bureaucracy.' One was 'the deeply rooted tradition of respect for personality'. The other was 'a wide diffusion among the people generally of interest in education itself'.⁹⁶ Undoubtedly, Clarke had been emphasizing the check on the State by public opinion from the 1920s and this, in fact, was in line with the ideals of developmental democracy, especially those of Lindsay and Hobson.

4.2 Democratic Planning in Education

As mentioned before, in the 1930s, due to the impact of the Great Depression, there was a big demand for state planning. In reality, Alan Booth argues that the

⁹³ Clarke, 'The Crisis in Education', 25.

⁹⁴ Clarke, 'The State: Master or Servant?', 65.

⁹⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Britain Old and New in Education', [Bitteshange?], 24th March 1936. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁹⁶ Clarke, 'The State: Master or Servant?', 64.

wider planning movement did not have any success in shaping government policy before 1939.⁹⁷ The values of Victorian liberalism were still dominant in the minds of British policy-makers of the inter-war years. However, after the strong campaign for planning by groups like the PEP and the 'Next Five Years' Group, by the end of the 1930s, a social and political consensus emerged. As Arthur Marwick indicates, State planning was no longer regarded as a horrible evil and the concept of 'Welfare State' became acceptable for all parties.⁹⁸ This provided a historical context in which Karl Mannheim, Lecturer in sociology at the London School of Economics, proposed the concept, 'planning for freedom'. Influenced by the social climate and Mannheim, Clarke also accepted the notion of 'planning'. In 1939, he wrote a paper in which some of his earlier proposals were incorporated into a comprehensive plan. In 1940, this paper was published as an influential book, *Education and Social Change*.

4.2.1 Karl Mannheim's 'Planning for Freedom'

Mannheim grew up in Budapest and gained part of his formal education in Germany. In 1933, he exiled from Germany and took up a lectureship in sociology at the London School of Economics, University of London. He has been famous for a co-founder of sociology of knowledge. He also figures prominently in examinations of the concepts of 'ideology' and 'utopia' in his well-known book, *Ideology and Utopia* (1936). Furthermore, the importance of his theories of planning and education has been recognized as well.⁹⁹ Indeed, Clarke concisely summarized that

⁹⁷ Alan Booth, 'The British Reaction to the Economic Crisis', in *Capitalism in Crisis: International Responses to the Great Depression*, ed. W. R. Garside (London: Pinter Publishers, 1993), 30-55 (p. 47).

⁹⁸ Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political Agreement', 285.

⁹⁹ Colin Loader, *The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge

Mannheim's main hope for the future was 'fixed upon the education of a free people' and his idea of 'planning for freedom' explicitly revealed the lines along which the education should proceed.¹⁰⁰ In 1939, surrounded by the strong campaign for planning, Mannheim wrote a paper, 'Planning for Freedom: Some Remarks on the Necessity for Creating a Body which could Coordinate Theory and Practice in our Future', for discussion in the Moot. The Moot was 'a group of distinguished Christian layman, clergy and intellectuals who met for residential weekend discussions from 1938 to 1947'.¹⁰¹ J. H. Oldham was the convenor and Chairman of it. In Clarke's tribute to Mannheim, 'Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education', Clarke recalled his first encounter with Mannheim, which actually was at a meeting of the Moot in 1939. As Clarke stated,

Some time in 1939 I was invited to join a small private discussion group of which Mannheim was already a member....At the first meeting of the group that I attended the subject for discussion was a paper in which Mannheim had set out his own conception of the relevant principles.¹⁰²

This paper was Mannheim's 'Planning for Freedom'.

At the beginning of his paper, Mannheim predicted that Britain would spend the next few years in preparing for war and 'the task of contending with the totalitarian States will be the dominant fact in the lives of the democracies'.¹⁰³ For

University Press, 1985), 1.

¹⁰⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Karl Mannheim', *The Londonian*, No. 54, Summer 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/35.

¹⁰¹ Taylor, 'Education and the Moot', 160.

¹⁰² Fred Clarke, 'Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education', in Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke*, 161-169 (p. 165).

¹⁰³ Karl Mannheim, 'Planning for Freedom: Some Remarks on the Necessity for Creating a Body which could Coordinate Theory and Practice in our Future', for the discussion in the Moot in 1939. J. H. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 1.

Britain, this would mean that it would 'have to become at least semi-totalitarian'. 'Even if appeasement could be achieved', he continued, 'it would not necessarily alter the need for adjusting our democratic system to the changed social structure.'¹⁰⁴ Facing the advent of a mass society, Mannheim put forward a proposition:

we ought to consent to any innovations which increase the efficiency of social institutions but we ought at the same time to watch these steps with the greatest possible care, in so far as they are likely to endanger our freedom, democracy and social progress.¹⁰⁵

For Mannheim, 'Government of the masses can not be carried on without a series of inventions and improvements in the field of economic, political and social techniques.'¹⁰⁶ In the light of this, he believed that 'it is no longer a matter of preference or abstract philosophical thought whether we shall embark upon planning; it is already taking place unobserved'.¹⁰⁷ Given the inevitability of planning in a mass society, he declared that 'We are living in an age of transition from *laissez faire* controlled by a few numerically limited élites, to a form of planned society, which will either be ruled by a minority dictatorship or by a new form of government, which in spite of its increased power, will still be democratically controlled.'¹⁰⁸ The key to the future was 'whether there is a possibility of planning which is based upon coordination and still leaves scope for freedom'.¹⁰⁹ From Mannheim's point of view, 'Coordination and planning can be done on the basis of democratic advice and

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 4.

control.’ Therefore, the task was to ‘find a form of, a working synthesis of, these two principles’.¹¹⁰ To this end, he argued that it was necessary to gather ‘a group of conscientious and thoughtful people’. The special aims for future work of this group would be ‘democratic planning and planning for freedom and justice’.¹¹¹

Mannheim suggested that this group should ‘first think out a long range policy by drawing up a kind of “summa” for a new social system, and then make an actual survey of the concrete changes taking place in our midst’.¹¹² By doing so, they can ‘criticize each individual change upon its merits, so as to decide whether it would be likely to promote a new social order or to injure the cause of freedom and democracy’.¹¹³ In Mannheim’s outline of a program for the group, there were several fields in which the social transformation should take place, such as economics, political organization, social organization, churches, education, public opinion and propaganda, as well as social work. He himself made some suggestions in relation to these special fields. For example, in politics, he claimed the ‘necessity for entrusting much executive action in certain well-defined situations to the government or to special bodies without surrendering democratic control’.¹¹⁴ In education, he argued that ‘In our researches and discussions therefore we must try to discover a healthy method of coordinating different activities which will neither suppress individuality on the one hand nor subject the growing child to planless influences on the other.’¹¹⁵ In the field of public opinion and propaganda, he indicated that ‘Normally public opinion is an expression of the sentiments and the will of many smaller groups in our society.’ However, he highlighted, ‘If public

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 1, 5.

¹¹² Ibid., 1.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 14.

opinion is to be healthy and to exercise a wise control over governmental action, it should be a unified expression of the opinions which gradually mature in these smaller groups.’¹¹⁶

In general, Mannheim’s idea of planning for freedom and democracy was in accordance with some key features of liberal democracy championed by Clarke. For example, as mentioned above, Mannheim emphasized the role of healthy public opinion in checking State actions. He also set limits on state control. As he put it, ‘in the most important spheres of life one should deliberately refrain from interference and the scope for spontaneity should rather be kept free than distorted by superfluous management’.¹¹⁷ On this account, he argued that organized and organic groups should be provided with ‘full scope for free integration and free lance existence’.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he opposed ‘a mechanical concept of equalization’ and accepted ‘reasonable differences in income and in the accumulation of wealth’ in that he believed that these differences ‘are able to create a “differential stimulus” to achievement’.¹¹⁹ More important, he emphasized that ‘democratic élites’ should not be destroyed in a modern planned society.¹²⁰ Undoubtedly, all this chimed with Clarke’s ideas of democracy.

Since Mannheim proposed the set-up of a group working on several fields for democratic planning, after discussion, Clarke was appointed to be in charge of the field of education. This process was reported by him as follows:

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 5.

In the course of discussion it was suggested that the practical bearing of Mannheim's ideas could be more clearly seen if they could be worked out in some detail in application to some one or other of the particular fields in question. The suggestion was accepted, the field of education was chosen for the purpose, and I was asked to prepare a paper, translating as it were, Mannheim's principles into the concrete terms of a possible educational policy.¹²¹

Therefore, in August 1939, after the Congress in New York came to an end, Clarke wrote a paper during his voyage to Canada.¹²² This paper was entitled 'Some Notes on English Educational Institutions: in the Light of the Necessities of "Planning for Freedom" in the Coming Collectivized Régime'.¹²³ One of the objectives of this paper was:

to estimate the degree in which the existing order is capable of adaptation to the conditions of a regime such as is foreshadowed in Mannheim's paper, one consciously planned and directed towards the guaranteeing of freedom for diversity of personality in a necessarily collectivized social order.¹²⁴

Indeed, this revealed Mannheim's influence on Clarke and, more important, a dramatic change in Clarke's attitude towards the concept of 'planning'.

¹²¹ Clarke, 'Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education', 165.

¹²² Ibid., 166.

¹²³ Fred Clarke, 'Some Notes on English Educational Institutions in the Light of the Necessities of "Planning for Freedom" in the Coming Collectivized Regime', Dr. J. H. Oldham's Moot, 21st August 1939. Clarke papers, FC/1/38.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

4.2.2 Clarke's Educational Plan: *Education and Social Change*

On 23 August 1939, the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed by Germany and the Soviet Union. Not long after, on 1 September, Hitler attacked Poland. On 3 September, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Britain was at war at last. At that time, Clarke was in Canada. On 8 September, he sailed from Montreal to England.¹²⁵ However, due to the war, his ship was turned back and thus he was still 'held up waiting for convoy' in mid-September.¹²⁶ After he returned to England safely, he joined a meeting of the Moot in November 1939, in which his paper, 'Some Notes on English Educational Institutions', was discussed.¹²⁷ After this meeting, 'at the request of a number of friends', his paper was published in summer 1940 under the title of *Education and Social Change*.¹²⁸ Clarke later suggested that this book 'had some influence on the course of events, helping as it did to guide and crystallize the body of opinion out of which came the Education Act of 1944'.¹²⁹ Ten years after the publication of the book, when the wartime period was reviewed, it was regarded as 'a typical and influential product of this exalted period'.¹³⁰ It was believed that 'the book foreshadowed fairly exactly the reforms of the 1944 Act'.¹³¹ Therefore, it was described as 'important pioneer work'.¹³² Also, the 'marked and permeating influence' the book exercised was acknowledged by the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE) in a tribute to Clarke

¹²⁵ Fred Clarke's luggage label (sailing from Montreal, 8th September 1939). Clarke papers, FC/7/57.

¹²⁶ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 16th September 1939. Clarke papers, FC/4/7.

¹²⁷ J. H. Oldham to members of the Moot, 9th November 1939. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/Moo/9.

¹²⁸ Fred Clarke, *Education and Social Change: An English Interpretation* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1940), v. See also Clarke, 'Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education', 166.

¹²⁹ Clarke, 'Karl Mannheim at the Institute of Education', 166.

¹³⁰ Newspaper cutting, 25th August 1950. Clarke papers, FC/5/53.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² A. V. Judges, 'The Late Sir Fred Clarke', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1, 1952, 67-68 (p. 68).

after his death.¹³³ Hence it is worth giving a detailed account of it before examining Clarke's contributions to the process leading to the 1944 Education Act in the next two chapters.

This book involved three chapters. In chapter 1, 'The Historical Determinants of English Education', Clarke provided 'some insight into the nature of the social influences by which the forms of English educational institutions have been determined and their practical objectives defined'. In chapter 2, 'The Present Situation', Clarke made 'some analysis of the present situation in England' in terms of 'a social economic history'. After analyzing the present situation, in the final chapter, 'Lines of Re-adaptation', Clarke attempted to 'estimate the degree to which the existing order is capable of adaptation to the demands that have to be faced, the demands of a régime consciously planned and directed towards the guaranteeing of freedom for diversity of personality in a social order much more thoroughly collectivist in its working than any of which we have yet had experience'.¹³⁴ Moreover, Clarke mainly focused on 'the adaptation of institutions'. In other words, his educational plan centered on 'national policy' rather than 'classroom technique'.¹³⁵ The framework of this book embodied Clarke's belief that 'the negative task of clearing away irrelevancies, obsolete survivals, and pseudo-principles that are no more than the disguise of material interest, will make all the easier the positive task of formulating more relevant and defensible standards of action'.¹³⁶ However, instead of imagining a severe tension between old and new, he argued that the task was to re-think and re-interpret the English tradition, which,

¹³³ A. E. D., 'Sir Fred Clarke', *Bulletin of Education*, No.27, February 1952, 17-18 (p. 18). Clarke papers, FC/1/6.

¹³⁴ Clarke, *Education and Social Change*, 4.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, v.

for Clarke, 'is of such a nature as to be indefinitely adaptable without ceasing to be itself'. He emphasized that 'if we are conservative enough we can afford to be thoroughly radical, not only without loss, but with much gain'.¹³⁷

The Historical Determinants of English Education

First of all, with regard to the social and historical factors which influenced the English education, Clarke maintained that because of 'long centuries of internal peace and external security', there emerged some historical determinants, including 'the habit of thinking in terms of concrete precedent rather than in terms of abstract principle'; 'the cohesion of the social class-order, with its divisions clearly marked yet connected by flexible ties, and with the steps of the social scale well fenced and guarded'; 'the intensity and variety of group-life sustaining and bracing rather than disintegrating the national unity of the whole'; and 'the strong preference for a concrete though limited liberty over an abstract but chilly equality'.¹³⁸ For Clarke, these factors 'remain for the mass in the region of the "taken for granted"'. A particularly striking example of this was the Spens Report on *Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (1938). Clarke argued that 'so deep-rooted is social habit, so completely lacking is any popular philosophy of education, that the profound issues of social destiny which are implied by the Report, though never explicitly raised in it, seem to have escaped general notice'. Therefore, the report was simply concerned with 'the internals of school-organization', 'relatively minor steps of liberalization', and 'details of adjustment of school-types'. It did not discuss the public schools, 'which claim to be

¹³⁷ Ibid., vi.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

in a special and peculiar sense representatively *national*', and made no attempt to 'relate them organically to the system of schools, largely State-provided, but somehow less "national", in which the mass of the population is educated'.¹³⁹ This division in the English education system, which had drawn Clarke's attention in the late 1920s, was addressed again and explained more clearly from a sociological perspective in chapter 2 of this book.

The Present Situation

In terms of the present situation in the English education system, Clarke began with a brief catalogue of the institutional forms of educational provision functioning in England at that time. There were 'a national system of "elementary" schools', 'an extraordinarily complex system of "secondary" schools', 'institutions of "further" education', and 'informal organizations'. For Clarke, the system of elementary schools was 're-interpreting itself as an institution for the communication of a *basic common culture* rather than as one for the guarantee of lower-class usefulness'.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, the system of secondary schools remained 'as illogical as it is ill-defined' from any 'purely *educational* point of view'. In fact, as Clarke complained, the diversity in this system, which consisted of the public schools, the State-controlled schools, the private schools, and junior technical schools, was not educational but 'social, historical, and administrative'.¹⁴¹ Clarke analyzed the reason why the public schools became independent from the State-controlled schools. From his perspective,

¹³⁹ Ibid., 9-10.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 34.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 37.

These schools regard themselves as “national” in a special and almost exclusive sense and are disposed to regard public service as limited to the ranges—the upper ranges generally—in which they themselves are interested. They are intensely jealous of their private and independent status, and have hitherto been little disposed to assimilate themselves to the State-controlled system which they have tended to regard as being “for the people” rather than “national”. Liberal movements towards the breakdown of exclusiveness and a wider conception of the truly national are by no means lacking, but they seem unable to make much headway against the weight of an oppressive inheritance, or against the pressure of the *clientèle* for the social privilege which the schools are regarded as able to guarantee.¹⁴²

In relation to this, Clarke maintained that ‘England has at least three rather sharply segregated education systems.’¹⁴³ These were: (1) ‘Home governess: preparatory school; public school’; (2) ‘Elementary school: State-aided secondary school’; (3) ‘Private school or schools’. Moreover, ‘These are routes’, Clarke added, ‘entirely separate from one another, touching nowhere until they reach the university.’ Clarke argued that ‘the segregation is surely to be explained on social grounds’. That is to say, these three routes were corresponding to three social routes respectively, including (1) ‘The Free Front Door’; (2) ‘The Side Entrance’; (3) ‘The Front Door on Conditions’.¹⁴⁴ To Clarke’s mind, what must be criticized was:

the comparative absence of cross connexions between the different routes, the virtual exclusion of the great mass of pupils in the senior schools from any of

¹⁴² Ibid., 37-38.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 42.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 43.

them, and the fact that certain of the routes lead more surely and directly than others to social advancement and positions of authority, even apart from any purely educational superiority that these more favoured routes may be able to claim.¹⁴⁵

For Clarke, the segregation of educational and social routes would be doing harm to English social unity and to English relations with the world. In the light of this, he claimed that ‘We can hardly continue to contemplate an England where the mass of the people coming on by one educational path are to be governed for the most part by a minority advancing along a quite separate and more favoured path.’¹⁴⁶ As mentioned before, an educational system which was characterized by privilege and social division was against Clarke’s concept of equality.

Apart from this, Clarke pointed out that there were other problems which required ‘co-ordination, re-direction and re-inspiration’.¹⁴⁷ First, the most urgent one was the issue of selection. Given the fact that there was widespread dissatisfaction with the selective examination at 11-plus, Clarke argued that selection should lose ‘its present “sheep and goats” character’ and become ‘a systematic *sorting* by criteria of aptitude and ability as distinct from prerogatives of class’. As noted before, this coincided with Clarke’s conception of free personality and Green’s ideals of developmental democracy. After all, a democracy required the realization of all citizens’ abilities and the contributions from all citizens. Moreover, in accordance with J. S. Mill’s warning about collective mediocrity, Clarke called for ‘democratizing of aristocracy’, that is, ‘the preservation of aristocratic quality

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 44.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

and temper and standards in its government and social functioning while using only democratic criteria in its devices for social selection'.¹⁴⁸ This also reflected literally Clarke's organic interpretation of equality, that is, to interpret equality in terms of an organic society, which chimed with Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function as well as Lindsay's Christian concept of equality that equality was compatible with differences. Furthermore, this embodied Clarke's opposition to a classless society, which was a major distinction between liberal democracy and social democracy.

The second problem was 'the task of providing a suitable diversity of forms of educational treatment at the adolescent stage with both parity of status and ease of transfer as between one type and another'.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, as Clarke indicated, the Spens Report made important recommendations on this. The Report proposed that the salaries of teachers and requirements in buildings should be equal in the grammar school, the modern school and the technical high school.¹⁵⁰ No fees should be paid in all types of secondary school 'as soon as the national finances render it possible'.¹⁵¹ The school-leaving age should be raised to 16.¹⁵² All state secondary schools should be under a new secondary code.¹⁵³ Moreover, for the purpose of easy transfer, the Report suggested that the courses of study between the ages of 11 and 13 should not differ to any marked extent in the various types of school at the secondary stage.¹⁵⁴ However, for Clarke, 'the practicability of its suggestions is

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 45.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (London: HMSO, 1938) (Spens Report), 298, 301.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 371.

¹⁵² Ibid., 311.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 314.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 341.

open to doubt' in that it seemed to 'presuppose that educational readjustments...precede rather than follow corresponding social change'.¹⁵⁵ He emphasized that 'It is surely a little naïve to imagine that in the present state of English society real parity of status can be established between the "modern" school for the unselected goats and the "grammar" school for the carefully selected sheep.'¹⁵⁶ According to McCulloch's analysis, this remark precisely 'reflected an important tension between the ideals and practices of tripartism, and the doctrine of parity of esteem'.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, as he explains, 'Plato's theory of tripartism had not conceived of the different forms of educational provision being equivalent to each other in terms of their status, but was intended to rationalize and justify a clear social hierarchy.'¹⁵⁸ Therefore, it can not support the idea of 'parity of esteem', which basically denies the 'existence of social inequalities relating to educational differences'.¹⁵⁹

The third task was to establish a better integrated system of further education which would exercise steadying and consolidating influence on the senior school (the modern school) instead of introducing any set leaving examination into these schools. The last task was to adapt the regular school system to the still-developing structure of technical education.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Clarke, *Education and Social Change*, 45.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 46.

¹⁵⁷ Gary McCulloch, *Failing the Ordinary Child?* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998), 53.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Gary McCulloch, 'The Power of Three: "Parity of Esteem" and the Social History of Tripartism', in *Studies in the History of Education*, ed. E. Jenkins (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1995), 113-132 (p. 120).

¹⁶⁰ Clarke, *Education and Social Change*, 46.

Lines of Re-adaptation

On the basis of the analysis of educational institutions and initial suggestions above, Clarke went on to propose five main changes in the English education system. Some of them reflected his democratic and educational ideas which were developed in the pre-1936 period. He explained that these were changes which 'the educational system will have to undergo if the traditions it embodies are to be re-valued and re-interpreted so as to preserve and enhance social cohesion and to generate the social power which the necessities of a changed order will call for'.¹⁶¹ First of all, he argued for the 'Unification of the System over the Whole Range'. This embodied his concept of equality, that is, the elimination of privilege and social division, and his call for a national community. Prior to putting forward detailed proposals for establishing a unified educational system, he clarified that 'unification' meant just 'a making one of that which is now far from being one'. 'It does not mean', he added, 'the subjection of all education alike to the bureaucratic control of a central State authority.'¹⁶² In England, he highlighted, the adaptation of a common principle 'providing for equal access to suitable forms of education' must be 'qualified by certain essential guarantees of freedom such as the freedom of individual schools to use and develop their resources in accordance with their own expert judgement of the needs to be met, and the freedom of parents within reasonable limits to select the schools to which they will send their children'.¹⁶³

As far as the unified educational system was concerned, to begin with, Clarke

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 48.

¹⁶² Ibid., 49.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

reiterated his early suggestion that the term 'elementary' should be abandoned.¹⁶⁴ Following this, he suggested that 'instead of stretching an "elementary" system', 'we should begin our planning with the essential problem of adolescence and adapt the earlier stages of education to the form of provision we choose for the later stage'.¹⁶⁵ Based on this, he argued that in a 'compulsory minimum of common full-time education from 5 to 15', the age of 9 was a more appropriate break between junior (primary) and senior (secondary) stages. A further break, or 'a pause for review', Clarke maintained, should come at about 13. From 9 to 13, the scheme of studies should remain broadly uniform for all and aid in discovering 'the lines of further education most suitable for each pupil'. At the age of 13, there would be a drafting of pupils to different types of secondary school such as the grammar school, the junior technical school, the technical high school, and, even the public schools.¹⁶⁶

Under this framework of full-time education, Clarke maintained emphatically that the technical high school must be 'essentially a secondary rather than a professional school, devoted to its peculiar significant task of the humanizing of techniques, a pioneer in the work of incorporating new technical elements, with all their implications, into a developing common culture'.¹⁶⁷ In addition, in terms of the sorting process, Clarke emphasized 'relevancy of training' and believed that the State should exert its influence on this issue. He claimed that:

Just as the State uses its power and influence to protect the young against such as

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 50.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 51-53.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 55.

disease, under-nourishment and economic exploitation, so it should use them to protect all alike from the misdirection and maladjustments that may arise from unsuitable training.¹⁶⁸

The State should do it by means of ‘unceasing emphasis in all its procedure on what we have called *relevancy of training*’. Furthermore, Clarke argued that in the interests of the child and the community, the State should give parents strong inducement to do so.¹⁶⁹ More important, aside from the State-controlled schools, the public schools were expected to join the general sorting process. This was the strategy Clarke proposed for bringing the public schools into the national system. Clarke was convinced that ‘There would be justice in this if the public schools came fully within the area of national selection, taking their pupils out of the common pool as a result of the sorting process referred to above.’¹⁷⁰ Indeed, for Clarke, apart from the abandonment of the category of ‘elementary’, to incorporate the public schools into a national system of secondary education was also crucial to the establishment of a unified educational system and, more important, to the achievement of equality and social unity.

In a unified educational system, ‘continued’ education was also significant. Clarke argued that, after leaving schools at the age of 15, pupils should receive continued educative control up to the age of 18 in that some educational tasks could not be attempted before the age of 15 for a lack of maturity and breadth of experience. Also, as he indicated, ‘there are valuable forms of educative experience

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 55-56.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 56.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 57.

which no school alone can really provide'.¹⁷¹ In view of this, Clarke insisted that 'this further provision should still be regarded as falling within secondary education'.¹⁷² The objectives of further education were as follows:

Attainment of a sufficiently high level of acquirement to participate with mutual advantage in the common culture; command of techniques, both those which are general to the community and those which are special for the individual vocation; knowledge of the nature and sources of power in the modern world (a great matter this, touching much of science, mathematics and geography as well as history and "civics"); insight into the motives and forces of individual and community action, together with trained moral perception and the integration of all that is learnt into the stable volitional structure that we call Character.¹⁷³

Aside from the 'Continuation Schools' that were proposed by the Fisher Act of 1918, Clarke urged 'a far wider diversity of provision'. There should be, he continued, 'a generous and flexible system of wise and friendly *tutelage* drawing freely upon every kind of social resource that can be brought into its service'. For him, the establishment of a national youth organization was an important step towards it.¹⁷⁴

As for the second change, Clarke propounded the 'Transcending of the Cultural-Vocational Distinction'. The claim for transcending the distinction between culture and vocation had been made by Clarke when he was in South Africa. He re-emphasized that:

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 58.

¹⁷² Ibid., 50.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 58.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 59.

The maintenance of this distinction, tracing its descent from a slave-based economy, can be no longer tenable in a modern industrial democracy where (i) *all* are to be “free”; (ii) freedom itself becomes increasingly dependent not only upon technical mastery but upon the humanization of techniques.¹⁷⁵

For this reason, Clarke insisted on the integration of the cultural and the vocational. This idea, which was based on a spirit of democracy, became a principle underlying the technical high school which was proposed by the Spens Report. Clarke argued that the technical high school should be ‘established at first in the limited form which the Committee suggests’.¹⁷⁶ That is to say, ‘For pupils of 13+ and onwards the curriculum should be designed to provide a liberal education with science and its applications as the core and inspiration.’¹⁷⁷ Aside from the establishment of the technical high school, Clarke suggested that ‘the whole system of technical education can come under review with an eye to the more effective co-ordination of its parts and more precise definition of its relation to the “ordinary” schools’. Moreover, in his plan, ‘The “ordinary” schools, especially in the later stages, will...set themselves increasingly to the integration of vocation with culture.’¹⁷⁸

The third change was ‘The Consistent Application to Curricula of the Test of Relevancy’. By ‘relevancy’ Clarke meant that ‘Relevance of material—that is, in relation to aptitudes of pupils, needs of social well-being and especially to the conditions determining freedom in a modern industrial democracy’.¹⁷⁹ Applying

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 60.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷⁷ Spens Report, 275.

¹⁷⁸ Clarke, *Education and Social Change*, 62-63.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 63.

this doctrine to the traditional classical curriculum, Clarke argued that it could not meet the contemporary tests of relevancy since ‘the claims for a common culture are too insistent’. Moreover, he added, ‘the requirements of a technical age cannot be gainsaid’. Therefore, Clarke believed that, in the secondary course, ‘the full classical curriculum in its old form seems destined to lose very soon its place of predominance’.¹⁸⁰ The fourth change was ‘Change of Basic Attitudes’. ‘Important among them’, he stressed, was ‘a changed attitude towards State action, somewhat along the lines advocated by Matthew Arnold.’ He argued that although ‘in respect of national education it is accepted by the ruling interest in so far as it [State action] applies to schools attended by the mass of the people’, ‘at the boundary line of schools of the upper level it stops short’.¹⁸¹ In other words, the public schools remained isolated from the State system. From Clarke’s perspective, this must be changed for the sake of social cohesion. Last, despite the fact that Clarke set forth the other four changes above, he believed that the nature of social cohesion should lie in ‘faith and love’, which were essentially religious. By virtue of them, people could cohere as a society and they were to be ‘the heart of education’s business’. ‘If the furnace of war serves to mould and establish that faith in us’, he concluded, ‘we shall not have gone through it in vain.’¹⁸²

Indeed, the Second World War did not undermine Clarke’s belief in democracy and freedom. Instead, he conceived it as ‘a crusade’.¹⁸³ In another paper for the Moot, he claimed that ‘the battle was to be fought on two fronts, with armaments on land, sea and air, and with less material weapons in our own consciences and amid

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 64.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 65-66.

¹⁸² Ibid., 69-70.

¹⁸³ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 4th September 1939. Clarke papers, FC/4/7.

the familiar attitudes and practices of our own English society'.¹⁸⁴ In terms of the latter battle, he argued for rigorous self-examination of 'the Home Front', namely 'England and Englishmen', in particular 'the startling inequalities of English life'. Through this, he expected that 'a new-found social and spiritual unity at home' could be achieved after the war.¹⁸⁵ Anna Clarke, who was Clarke's daughter and worked with the members of the Moot, recalled that the mood of those meetings in the Moot was 'hopeful' and 'desperately anxious to have a new world'.¹⁸⁶ Clarke's *Education and Social Change* revealed the prospect of a new world and the direction in which the educational reform should steer. Throughout the wartime period, Clarke was involved in the educational debate and continuously strived to give reality to the proposals of this little book in order to turn England into a real democratic country.

In conclusion, from 1936 to 1939, Clarke developed some of his ideas of democracy such as free personality and democratic citizenship, which embodied the ideals of developmental democracy. For Clarke, free personality implied free contribution of each member to the community. This interpretation of free personality and his opposition to individualism led him to emphasize the importance of discipline and religious faith in the fulfillment of free personality and the maintenance of freedom. In relation to this, he called for the cultivation of free and responsible citizens. That is to say, citizens should freely and responsibly contribute themselves to the community. Clarke believed that only when free personality and democratic citizenship were cultivated as he expounded could democracy be safeguarded. Moreover, another development in Clarke's democratic ideas was his

¹⁸⁴ Fred Clarke, 'What of Ourselves?', Notes for J. H. Oldham's Moot, November 1939. Clarke papers, FC/1/38.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Transcription of an interview with Fred Clarke's daughters, Claudia and Anna, by Professor Richard Aldrich, 14th August 1997.

acceptance of collective State actions. This could be attributed to his experiences in the Dominions and the changing political situations nationally and internationally. However, he remained insistent on the distinction between the State and community and believed firmly that this marked the difference between democracy and totalitarianism. Therefore, for him, although the power of the State was to be extended, the initiative of society which was embodied in the voluntary organizations should still be retained. Also, for the prevention of excessive bureaucracy brought about by collective State actions, public interest in education must be widely stimulated. The stress on the distinction between the State and community and on the role of public opinion in checking the State's power also reflected major characteristics of developmental democracy. In addition to the significant developments in his ideas of democracy, in this period, greatly influenced by Mannheim, Clarke turned to champion the concept of planning and wrote a prominent book, *Education and Social Change*. This book could be seen as a democratic educational plan, which combined Clarke's ideas of democracy with his educational ideas. Furthermore, it brought Clarke to a wider audience and, above all, to the stage of the educational debates in the early 1940s.

Ch5 Towards Reconstruction in Education: 1940-1943

As indicated in chapter 4, by the end of the 1930s, State planning for a 'welfare state' had become a social and political consensus. From 1940, stimulated by the outbreak of the Second World War, the British cultural élites began to envisage a new order, that is, a 'New Jerusalem' to be built in Britain in the post-war period.¹ In July 1940, a leading article of the *Times*, 'The New Europe', which was written by the historian E. H. Carr, revealed the vision of a new order.² Carr argued that, in a new order,

If we speak of democracy, we do not mean a democracy which maintains the right to vote but forgets the right to work and the right to live. If we speak of freedom, we do not mean a rugged individualism which excluded social organization and economic planning. If we speak of equality, we do not mean a political equality nullified by social and economic privilege. If we speak of economic reconstruction, we think less of maximum production (though this too will be required) than of equitable distribution.³

More important, he added, 'The new order cannot be based on the preservation of privilege, whether the privilege be that of a country, of a class, or of an individual.'⁴ Moreover, in January 1941, the *Picture Post* also published a special issue, 'A Plan for Britain'. The editorial foreword illustrated the urgency of planning for a new Britain. It claimed that 'Our plan for a new Britain is not something outside the war,

¹ Correlli Barnett, *The Audit of War* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 11.

² Ibid., 18.

³ E. H. Carr, 'The New Europe', *Times*, 1st July 1940.

⁴ Ibid.

or something after the war. It is an essential part of our war aims. It is, indeed, our most positive war aim. The new Britain is the country we are fighting for.’⁵ After its publication, the topic of reconstruction of a better Britain after the war became a national talking-point.⁶

On the other hand, the momentum of planning and reconstructing a new order was also driven by war experiences. As Paul Addison argues, the influence of reformers from the Left and the Centre was ‘dramatically reinforced by the social and administrative pattern of the war effort’.⁷ First of all, the war made a planned economy necessary in order to ensure all-out productivity in conditions of manpower shortage.⁸ Furthermore, the need of austerity, the rationing of essential commodities, the high levels of taxation on personal incomes, and a series of massive upheavals resulted in more egalitarian conditions although the roots of class remained untouched.⁹ Aside from this, the demand for ‘equality of sacrifice’ and ‘equity of rewards’ brought about powerful pressure on the Coalition government of three political parties, which was formed in May 1940 and under the leadership of Winston Churchill.¹⁰ The social drive towards egalitarianism, in Addison’s words, ‘lifted the Coalition on to a new place of reforming consensus’ and hence many reforms were put forward.¹¹ The most prominent was the Beveridge Report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, published in December 1942. The Report, as Addison puts it, ‘was a plan to establish full social security for all from the cradle to the grave’. It declared a comprehensive social insurance, involving children’s

⁵ *Picture Post*, Vol.10, No.1, 4 January 1941, 4.

⁶ Barnett, *The Audit of War*, 22.

⁷ Addison, *The Road to 1945*, 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13, 131.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

allowances, health and rehabilitation services available to all, and the maintenance of full employment.¹²

In addition to social reform, before the publication of the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*, in July 1943, there had been a strong demand for educational reform. As Brian Simon indicates,

...widespread discussion among a great variety of organizations – covering the labour movement, teachers, administrators as well as others of a political and social character – resulted, by the autumn of 1942, in a massive number of pamphlets, leaflets, statements of policy, submitted both for public discussion and for consideration by the Board of Education in determining policy.¹³

In late-1940, the officials of the Board of Education noticed this phenomenon. In his minute of 5 November 1940, Sir Maurice Holmes, the Permanent Secretary, noted that ‘It is clear from references in the Press that other persons and bodies have ideas on post-war educational reconstruction, and I think this is a matter in which the Board should lead rather than follow.’¹⁴ Deeply feeling the pressure from other organizations and individuals, Holmes established an informal group of senior officials.¹⁵ This group operated informally between November 1940 and May 1941 and worked through memoranda. After discussion, modification and extensive editing at times, the Green Book, *Education After the War*, emerged. However, as Peter Gosden emphasizes, although the Green Book was circulated in the summer of

¹² Ibid., 211.

¹³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 37.

¹⁴ ‘Post War Educational Reconstruction’, M. G. H[olmes], 5th November 1940. Board of Education Papers, The National Archives, ED/46/155.

¹⁵ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 57.

1941, 'the government had certainly come nowhere near even to authorizing, let alone encouraging, the preparation of any legislation'.¹⁶ Not until the autumn of 1942, when the negotiations with the Church of England were going to produce a settlement of the religious issue, did the Board of Education begin to work in preparation for a draft bill.¹⁷ By the end of 1942, the proposals of the White Paper on Education were proceeding through the Lord President's Committee.¹⁸

From 1940 to mid-1943, apart from the publication of *Education and Social Change*, Clarke was also actively engaged in the campaign for educational reconstruction. He emerged as one of the leading educational reformers at the time, alongside such major figures as Tawney and Norwood, with his own distinguished yet more politically 'liberal' approach. Unlike Tawney, who had been closely engaging with the Labour Party, Clarke was basically a non-partisan figure. His enthusiasm about the reform can be seen from one of his letters. In June 1940, he confided to his wife that 'I want to live on to take my part in the re-planning of England which has to come.'¹⁹ No doubt, his various activities proved this. In general, Clarke spared no efforts to promote his reform proposals by means of publishing journal and newspaper articles, joining discussion groups, and, above all, delivering speeches at individual schools, universities, and conferences. One journey plan for early July 1941 helps shed some light on his tight schedule: 'On the 4th I have to go and talk at a school near Reading. On the 5th I am at a conference on Colonies in the morning (in Oxford) and reading a paper at another conference in the

¹⁶ Peter Gosden, 'Putting the Act Together', *History of Education*, 24/3 (1995), 195-207 (p. 198).

¹⁷ Ibid., 206.

¹⁸ Addison, *The Road to 1945*, 174.

¹⁹ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 22nd June 1940. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

afternoon. On the 8th I have to be in Aberystwyth.²⁰ Also, over this period, Clarke travelled to at least 10 counties and three main cities which were mainly located in the Midlands and south-east England (see Figure 2). Including one speech in Wales and other speeches of which the locations cannot be identified, at least 39 speeches were delivered by Clarke within three and half years. A list of Clarke's speeches is presented in Appendix 1. In January 1943, Clarke was bestowed the honour of knighthood. This honour provided the best account of Clarke's substantial contribution to English education in a short period between 1935 and 1943.²¹

The first part of this chapter will formulate Clarke's reform proposals, which were based on his already established educational and democratic ideas, but also adapted and responded to a rapidly changing political situation. Furthermore, the approaches which he adopted to influence public opinion, cultural élites, policy-makers, and other key figures in this reform will be analyzed in greater detail. By doing so, his contribution to the campaign for educational reform will be revealed. Additionally, Clarke also set forth some preconditions for successful educational reconstruction. Therefore, the second part of this chapter will expound the preconditions which Clarke stressed repeatedly and related to his reform proposals throughout this period.

²⁰ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 20th June 1941. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

²¹ *TES*, 2nd January 1943, p. 8.

Figure 2 Map of speeches of Fred Clarke (1940-1943. 07)



5.1 Main Fields of Educational Reconstruction

In general, in this period, Clarke's reform proposals for educational reconstruction centered on four main fields of education, that is, central authority,

the public schools, secondary education and further education. Despite this, Clarke also urged changes in other fields such as teacher education, adult education, and nursery education, though he laid less emphasis on them than on other fields at the early stage of this reform.

5.1.1 Reorganization of Central Authority

As noted before, by the end of the 1930s, Clarke had begun to accept collective State actions and champion the conception of ‘planning’. Moreover, in his book, *Education and Social Change*, Clarke also called for a changed attitude towards State actions. As he had been emphasizing in the 1930s, in line with one of the ideals of developmental democracy, the State should guarantee equality of educational opportunity for all so that all citizens could develop their abilities and contribute to a common good. On the basis of this, the first reform proposal he put forward was the reorganization of central authority. In 1940, Clarke prepared an article entitled ‘Educating Ourselves for the Task’ for discussion in the All Souls Group. It is believed that Clarke made his weekend visits to All Souls College constantly when the Institute of Education was relocated in Nottingham and, in this group, ‘some of the underlying principles, to be presently incorporated in the 1944 Act, were quietly worked out’.²² Indeed, in one letter to his wife in June 1943, Clarke noted that ‘The All Souls group meets on the 26th. I hope to be there, though it means an eight hours journey from Durham, where I am on the 25th’.²³ The subject of this meeting was precisely ‘The Reform of the Board of Education’.²⁴ At the beginning of the article,

²² A. E. D., ‘Sir Fred Clarke’, 17.

²³ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 6th June 1943. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

²⁴ ‘All Souls Group: List of Subjects and Guests’, [n.d.] Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/1/3.

Clarke claimed that, in the face of the war, 'dark as the situation may appear, it affords an opportunity such as may never occur again to restart the whole life of Europe on a new and higher level'.²⁵ In order to grasp the opportunity, he called for 'a workable programme of re-education' as a long-term objective of action. Furthermore, he maintained that 'What is needed at the moment is the necessary organization, the minimum of financial resources and the concentrated driving-power to bring them to bear at once in the most effective way'.²⁶ In other words, in his view, an effective central authority was indispensable for reconstruction.

In a letter to Tawney, Clarke reiterated the necessity of a powerful central authority. He observed that 'The Board stands exposed as one of the great war-time failures and even now it shows little sign of rising to a real sight of its job'.²⁷ For remedying this, he argued for a central authority which was 'much more comprehensive, less timorous and unimaginative'. Moreover, its 'powers must be much greater'. In other words, for Clarke, there must be 'administrative re-construction...especially at the centre in a Ministry of Education'.²⁸ This proposal was later stated more clearly in his article, 'Now and Tomorrow: ii Planning Freedom', which was published in *The New Era*. Clarke pointed out to the public that 'one step that would be required by systematic planning in England would be the substitution for the present Board of Education of a Ministry designed to care for the whole growth of the young from birth to maturity'.²⁹ Moreover, he

²⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Educating Ourselves for The Task', All Souls Group, 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/4.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Fred Clarke to R. H. Tawney, 5th October 1940. Tawney Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/TY/2/11.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Now and Tomorrow: ii Planning Freedom', *The New Era*, Vol. 21, No. 9, November

emphasized that in a planned society ‘obedience and authority’ ought to be regarded as ‘conditions of freedom’, and thus ‘anarchical notions’ should be got rid of once for all.³⁰ Similarly, in another article published in the *Christian News-letter*, Clarke also urged the public to ‘consider far-reaching changes in administrative organization and procedure’.³¹ ‘We may have to think’, he maintained, ‘in terms of a comprehensive Ministry planned to supervise the whole range of the interests of the young from birth to maturity.’³² The *Christian News-letter* was a publication of the Moot. According to Marjorie Reeves and Elaine Kaye, by April 1940, there were already more than 10,000 subscribers and at its peak, the number of subscribers had reached about 11,000.³³

Aside from through the media of journal articles, Clarke preached the proposal by delivering speeches and lectures to students, teachers and the public. For instance, in October 1941, Clarke was invited to give a speech on educational reconstruction at an Oxford meeting. Because this ‘seems a hopeful sign’ for him, he ‘consented at once’.³⁴ In this speech, he called for a ‘re-organized Ministry’.³⁵ Equally, in February 1943, in a lecture at the University College, Nottingham University, he argued that ‘a reformed and expanded Ministry of National Education’ was needed for the ‘strongest possible concentration and co-ordination of forces sincerely devoted to the maintenance and just application of [purely educational] criteria’.³⁶

1940, 221-223 (p. 223). Clarke papers, FC/1/29.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Administering Education’, *Christian News-letter*, 4/48 (1941), 401-406 (p. 405). Clarke papers, FC/1/1.

³² Ibid.

³³ Marjorie Reeves and Elaine Kaye, ‘Tracts for Wartime: The Christian News-Letter’, in *Christian Thinking and Social Order*, ed. M. Reeves (London: Cassell, 1999), 49-79 (p. 50).

³⁴ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 23rd October 1941. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

³⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Towards Reconstruction in Education’, Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

³⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Reconstruction in Education’, Lunch Lecture, U. C., 23rd February 1943. Clarke

Although Clarke espoused the set-up of a comprehensive and powerful Ministry of Education, in another speech at the University College, he reiterated his earlier democratic idea and argued that a planned society should be ‘a society which preserves more sharply than ever the fundamental distinction which the Nazis over-ride, that between Community and State’.³⁷ After all, as Clarke pointed out, ‘once plans have been agreed upon they must be carried through with Authority’. Under this circumstance, the ‘dangers of bureaucracy’ were expected to be great. In the light of this, Clarke emphasized again that the ‘only safeguard’ against excessive bureaucracy was ‘an enlightened and “public spirited” people’.³⁸

In his other two speeches in Nottingham, Clarke also illustrated the role of the community in protecting the educational system from bureaucracy. He claimed that the community can ‘guarantee against formalism, unreality and [a] lack of motivation’.³⁹ Furthermore, a ‘vigorous and well-informed community life and interest’ must be relied on in order to ‘check bureaucracy’.⁴⁰ Additionally, at a meeting of the Moot, Clarke indicated that there had been two traditions in England in terms of the functions of the State in education.⁴¹ One was ‘the public tradition’, which was ‘a powerful anti-state tradition’. The other was ‘a tradition that looked to the State for everything’, which was developing in the secondary schools. For Clarke, neither could become the pattern of a planned society. He stressed that ‘The

papers, FC/1/43.

³⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Freedom of Man in Modern Society’, N. U. C. Economic Society, 13th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/29.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘The English Idea in Education’, Nottingham Education Society, 16th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

⁴⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘The Prospect in English Education’, University Women, Nottingham, 7th December, 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

⁴¹ Group on Education minutes, 21st-22nd February 1942. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 13/4/212. (One copy of this was donated by William Taylor to the IOE Archives).

problem in a planned society was between centralization and decentralization.’⁴² In other words, despite the necessity of extending the power of the State, Clarke still held on to the main feature of developmental democracy, that is, the distinction between community and the State.

5.1.2 The ‘National’ Public Schools?

By the end of the 1920s, due to the failure of his application for a post at Oxford University, Clarke had raised the issue of the public schools. At that time, Clarke argued that the public schools should disentangle their genuine educational virtues from privilege and class-spirit and, more important, become accessible to the whole population. In the early 1940s, the issue turned into a focal point of the educational debate. As Simon indicates, towards the end of the 1930s, the public schools encountered a serious financial crisis.⁴³ The number of pupils in boys’ public boarding schools fell by 14 percent between 1936 and 1940.⁴⁴ Although the public schools claimed a status of being ‘independent’, they turned to the Board of Education for support. The Board held a series of meetings and undertook activities in an attempt to provide them with assistance. This fuelled sharp and sustained criticism on them from the public.⁴⁵ In the face of this, in February 1940, Cyril Norwood, a former headmaster of Harrow (1926-1934), set forth a proposal in order to resolve the crisis of the public schools. He acknowledged ‘the problem of the class-division created by the existence of the public-schools and the State-aided

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 32.

⁴⁴ Nicholas Hillman, ‘Public Schools and the Fleming Report of 1944: Shunting the First-class Carriage on to an Immense Siding?’, *History of Education*, 41/2 (2012), 235-255 (p. 238).

⁴⁵ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 32.

schools side by side, and the inequality of opportunity which it thereby created'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he argued that the public schools 'are far too valuable' in that they were able to 'produce leaders' and 'have preserved a fine tradition of education'.⁴⁷ Therefore, he proposed that the public schools be brought into a national educational system by accepting 'from the elementary schools an entry of not less than ten per cent'.⁴⁸ Moreover, he maintained that 'the financial responsibility of the whole should be taken over by Whitehall'. However, for safeguarding their status of independence, 'the schools should not be handed over to the local Education Authorities'.⁴⁹

In contrast with Norwood's solution, Clarke's proposal was more radical. In his book, *Education and Social Change*, Clarke criticized the public schools for being independent from the State-controlled schools but still regarding themselves as 'national'. On this account, in pursuit of equality and social unity, he suggested that the public schools should come fully within the area of national selection, recruiting pupils from the common pool without setting any limits on the number of pupils from the State-controlled schools. At a meeting of the Moot in July 1940, in which democracy and freedom were discussed, Clarke claimed that 'it [democracy here in this country] must come out of some concrete situation, e.g. an abjuration and a lead from the public schools'.⁵⁰ In order to help persuade the public schools to take the lead, in February 1941, he travelled to Repton School, an independent boarding school in Derbyshire, to deliver a speech. In effect, in the same year, the Board of Education placed Repton within a group of 13 public schools of which the future

⁴⁶ Cyril Norwood, 'The Crisis in Education—I', *Spectator*, 9th February 1940, 175-176 (p. 175).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁴⁸ Cyril Norwood, 'The Crisis in Education—II', *Spectator*, 16th February 1940, 206-207 (p. 206).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵⁰ Notes on Discussion at the 9th Meeting of the Moot, 12th-15th July 1940. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/MOO/11.

was doubtful.⁵¹ To begin with, Clarke emphasized that the vision of the new order lay in ‘continuing tradition under much stronger criticism of rational criteria’ such as ‘equality’ and ‘removal of irrational privileges’.⁵² In his view, the public schools had the ‘value of purely educational tradition’, but they also had ‘accretions of wealth and privilege’. Hence, he argued, for the public schools, ‘First essential [is] to separate educational virtues from social accidents.’ The second step was to ‘work out forms in which Public School Education can be retained to the wider national advantage’. In this sense, he emphasized to his audience that ‘Broadening [the] basis of recruitment won’t touch [the] real issue.’ The issue, he added, ‘must be attacked from both ends’, that is, ‘spreading the virtues’ and ‘ending the privilege for real equal competition’.⁵³

In addition, Clarke was also involved in a debate about the public schools in the *Journal of Education*. According to Simon’s observation, by the spring of 1940, the public schools had worked out a consensus in their defence in this journal and almost all of them supported proposals like Norwood’s.⁵⁴ They proclaimed the lasting value of the public schools and the need to preserve them but they merely consented to opening themselves up to democratic needs through proposals for State subsidies through scholarships.⁵⁵ In effect, Norwood believed that the best qualities of the public schools were the ‘public spirit’ and moral values involved in their approach to education for leadership.⁵⁶ These values, he hoped, could be infused into the new State secondary schools.⁵⁷ As McCulloch indicates, the conservative

⁵¹ Hillman, ‘Public Schools and the Fleming Report of 1944: Shunting the First-class Carriage on to an Immense Siding?’, 239.

⁵² Fred Clarke, ‘Criteria and Tradition’, Repton, 28th February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 43.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Gary McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 42.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 41.

view on the public schools constantly appealed to those seeking to defend the public schools against renewed criticisms.⁵⁸ In order to promote a real democratic reform, in 1941, Clarke published four articles in the same journal.

In the first article, 'The Public Schools and the Nation, Part I', Clarke kept in line with his earlier standpoint. He noticed that the argument made by the public schools featured the 'confusing of true educational virtues with the accidents of privilege', that is, that of "training for leadership" with the exploitation of social monopoly'.⁵⁹ In the light of this, he argued that the first task for the public schools would be 'an honest and resolute effort to disentangle the pure educational virtue from that accretion of privilege which no one now denies'.⁶⁰ 'Having done that', he continued, the second task was 'the reinterpretation of a tradition thus cleansed in terms of the whole vast scale of a modern industrialized democracy'. He believed that unless the tradition 'communicates itself to the whole', it could not 'persist in its claim to be "national"'.⁶¹

In his second article, Clarke made further advice on the reform of the public schools. He observed that in the debate, on the one hand, there were critics who saw the public schools 'only as a keystone in a structure of social privilege' and were inclined to adopt 'a root-and-branch policy of thorough-going and mechanical "equality"'.⁶² On the other hand, there were defenders of the public schools who were 'resolved to save all that can be saved of privilege' and chose to 'ignore the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁹ Fred Clarke, 'The Public Schools and the Nation. Part I', *The Journal of Education*, March 1941, 79-81 (p. 80). Clarke papers, FC/1/42.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 79.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Fred Clarke, 'The Public Schools and the Nation. Part II', *The Journal of Education*, April 1941, 121-124 (p. 121). Clarke papers, FC/1/42.

play of social interest in the defensive façade of educational theory that it throws up'.⁶³ Faced with the tensions and the conflicts between the critics and defenders of the public schools, in one letter to his wife, Clarke made it clear that 'As I disagree largely with both sides I do keep some independence. But what impresses me is the badness of the public schools people as advocates of their own case. They will persist in fighting the wrong battle.'⁶⁴ In Clarke's eyes, the manners of some of them were 'arrogant, egotistical and ill-tempered'.⁶⁵

Certainly, although Clarke acknowledged the educational merits of the public schools, he unequivocally pointed out in his article that the argument for the educational superiority of these schools was unconvincing so long as it could be contended that the achievements of their pupils were made by 'the social advantage attaching to a school label'.⁶⁶ From this perspective, he strongly maintained that there was not 'any way out that does not involve the ending of a state of things where, irrespective of the quality of the education received, the mere possession of a school-label of a certain kind constitutes a claim to privileged status'.⁶⁷ Moreover, Clarke criticized those defenders for adopting Norwood's proposal for the reform of the public schools. For Clarke, 'A broadening of the basis of recruitment of the public schools does not touch the issue so long as the central structure of privilege remains.'⁶⁸ Last, he called for sacrifice from the public schools to meet the national demand. Based on his confidence in the educational advantage of these schools, Clarke believed that the reward for this sacrifice would be 'the educational

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 9th March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Clarke, 'The Public Schools and the Nation. Part II', 121.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 122.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 123.

leadership of a nation united as never before, and on a higher level than any it has yet known'.⁶⁹

Following these two articles, Clarke wrote a letter to the editor and expressed his will to communicate to the public some remarks which he made in a conference of public schoolmasters and others. He re-emphasized that:

The most urgent immediate task, therefore, is to convince public opinion that there is, in the public-school tradition, a valuable deposit of true educational experience which ought to be preserved. I suggested, however, that the achieving of this would involve a much more clear and convincing statement of the purely educational case than has yet been put forward – a statement quite free from the now damaging associations with privilege.⁷⁰

He also warned public schoolmasters that 'The reiteration of the claim to "independence" is likely to cause increasing resentment and suspicion.'⁷¹ Clarke questioned: if independence meant 'independence of any relation with the system of schools in which 90 percent of the people of England are educated', 'what will happen in the future to the claim of the schools to be in a peculiar sense "national"?' For him, the so-called independence was simply 'increasing isolation'.⁷² In view of this, he believed that 'those schools which are now taking active steps to establish relations with the "not independent" educational system of England are following a

⁶⁹ Ibid., 124.

⁷⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Correspondence: The Public Schools', *The Journal of Education*, June 1941, 250, 252 (p. 250).

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

wise and hopeful course'.⁷³

Despite his discontent with the privilege and independent status of the public schools, Clarke had no intention to eliminate these schools. As mentioned above, he recognized the importance of their educational work. In his fourth article, 'The Future of the Boarding School', which was read at the Annual Conference of Schoolmasters and College Tutors, he argued that if the public schools took part in 'healing the division in England' and if the educational life was to be unified 'in a way that still enhances vitality and diversity', the public schools could still 'figure prominently in that picture, carrying high prestige by reason of its work, and the breadth of its educational conceptions'.⁷⁴ Moreover, as a form of boarding school, which can 'establish control over the lives of its pupils as completely and effectively as may be', Clarke claimed that the best function of the public schools was not 'leadership', but 'intensification', that is, 'the heightening and concentration of the whole dynamic idea of a whole nation's life'.⁷⁵ From this perspective, even though Clarke insisted that the public schools must get rid of privilege and their status of 'independence', he seemed to adopt a less harsh attitude towards them than those critics who were in favor of the imposed abolition of these schools. Furthermore, as indicated before, he addressed to individual public schools and attended their conferences so that he could communicate to them his advice on their necessary adjustment to a national system and convince them of the benefits they and the whole nation would obtain from their own sacrifice.

⁷³ Ibid, 252.

⁷⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The Future of The Boarding Schools' (Paper read at the Annual Conference of Schoolmasters and College Tutors, Oxford, April 18, 1941), *The Journal of Education*, July 1941, 285-288 (p. 288). Clarke papers, FC/1/42.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 286, 288.

Apart from public activities like delivering speeches, publishing journal articles, and attending conferences, Clarke also attempted to exert his influence through private and personal contacts with policy-makers and key figures in the reform, such as R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, and Geoffrey Faber, Chairman of the Education Sub-Committee of the Conservative Party. In effect, before Butler became the President, he and Clarke were already acquainted with each other. A. T. D. Porteous, Professor of Education, University of Liverpool, once recalled that Clarke mentioned to him a lunch with Butler after the publication of *Education and Social Change*.⁷⁶ Joseph Lauwerys, who worked under Clarke at the Institute for seven or eight years, also noted that this book led to Clarke's contact with Butler.⁷⁷ On the basis of this connection, in February 1941, after Butler wrote a preface to a programme of reconstruction, he sent a letter to Clarke and asked for Clarke's frank criticisms.⁷⁸ Moreover, in one letter to his wife, Clarke noted that Butler wrote to him 'gratefully about some help' he had been able to give and he hoped to see Butler on 24 March 1941.⁷⁹ When Butler was to take up the Presidency of the Board in July 1941, Clarke expressed his gladness about it to his wife.⁸⁰ Due to this good relationship with Butler, at a private meeting with him in March 1942, Clarke suggested that 'the Public Schools question needed stirring up'. He hoped that the question could be brought into discussion in Parliament. Instead of taking Clarke's advice, Butler replied that 'I would if necessary poke the fire, but did not feel inclined to do so until I found some hope of flame.'⁸¹

⁷⁶ Makin, *Sir Fred Clarke—Educator*, 187.

⁷⁷ J. A. Lauwerys, Biography of Fred Clarke, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Clarke papers, FC/1/16; J. A. Lauwerys to Fred Clarke, 31st December 1951 (read to Fred Clarke at his last meeting of the English New Education Fellowship). Clarke papers, FC/4/7.

⁷⁸ R. A. Butler to Fred Clarke, February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/33.

⁷⁹ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 19th March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

⁸⁰ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 20th July 1941. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

⁸¹ R. A. Butler, note of meeting with Fred Clarke, 20th March 1942. Board of Education papers, The

In reality, in September 1941, Butler wrote to Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, to raise the issue of legislation. According to Gosden, aside from the Church school issue, the problem of the public schools and the reform of local education authorities were also set out. However, Butler's proposal for a new legislation was turned down by Churchill. Moreover, Churchill admonished him against stirring up the public schools question.⁸² Therefore, it was conceivable that Butler would try hard to avoid the issue. In July 1942, considering the fact that the public schools problem came very much to the fore, a committee of enquiry was set up by Butler in order to 'consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended'.⁸³ Following Norwood's suggestion, Butler appointed M. C. Fleming, Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, as the Chairman of the committee.⁸⁴ Butler's motive for appointing the Fleming Committee was later recorded in his memoirs. He admitted that 'though Labour members breathed a certain amount of ritual fire and fury about social exclusiveness and privilege, the appointment of the Fleming Committee had temporarily removed the fuse'.⁸⁵

Despite the establishment of the Fleming Committee, the fire and fury were not put out completely in public. Admittedly, Clarke continued to contribute to this issue. In August 1942, Clarke was invited to comment on the work of the Education Sub-Committee of the Conservative Party. This committee, chaired by Faber, was

National Archives, ED/136/215.

⁸² Gosden, 'Putting the Act Together', 200.

⁸³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 64. See also Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on The Public Schools and the General Educational System* (London: HMSO, 1944) (Fleming Report), 1.

⁸⁴ Hillman, 'Public Schools and the Fleming Report of 1944: Shunting the First-class Carriage on to an Immense Siding?', 241.

⁸⁵ R. A. Butler, *The Art of the Possible* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971), 120.

formed by Butler in January 1942 in order to ‘work out the Conservative Party’s post-war educational policy’.⁸⁶ As Clarke observed, he himself was ‘coming to be regarded as a sort of elder statesman for general educational purposes’.⁸⁷ Hence, he was ‘assailed from all sides by people and bodies’ who expected him to ‘do their thinking for them’. However, he realized that ‘some of the things are too important to neglect especially when they come from quarters that carry real weight and influence’. As a result, he believed that ‘there is a real function here to be discharged’. Although it ‘must necessarily be unofficial’, he noted, ‘someone has to take it up’.⁸⁸ Indeed, Clarke took the chance of engaging in the sub-committee’s work very seriously. He wrote at least three letters within two months to Faber to advise him on the issue of the public schools.

In his first letter, Clarke pointed out that the report of the sub-committee, *Aims of a System of National Education*, showed that Faber wanted to ‘keep the “public” (i.e. private) schools and all that they imply, as a separate thing, through in “partnership” with the State, whatever that may mean’. He told Faber that if Faber really longed for ‘a continuance of the present dual system, whereby a small minority of the population, coming up through a private and privileged system of schools, claims as of right to govern the vast majority coming up through the “State” system’, he would ‘fight that to the end’. Moreover, he reiterated his idea that ‘The public schools enshrine rich educational values which ought not to be lost, but to preserve them they must be disentangled from their present social context and worked into that of the coming English society.’⁸⁹ On 10 September 1942, Faber

⁸⁶ Geoffrey Faber to W. F. Oakeshott, 18th December 1941. Conservative Research Department papers, Conservative Party Archives, CRD/2/32/3.

⁸⁷ Fred Clarke to Malherbe (a friend from South Africa), 16th August 1942. Clarke papers, FC/4/33.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Fred Clarke to Geoffrey Faber, 19th August 1942. Conservative Research Department papers,

wrote to the *Times* to respond to the criticism from its editor. The *Times* argued that the sub-committee's proposals concerning the public schools 'might seem to envisage two national systems of education—one for the leaders and another for the led'.⁹⁰ In effect, the criticism was appropriate since the report did maintain that:

...in our judgment the special contribution made by the public and preparatory schools to the end we are discussing (the education of talent and the development of leadership) is too valuable to be jeopardized; and that it would be jeopardized if they were to lose their independence and become a mere part of the State system.⁹¹

However, Faber refuted the criticism and argued that the sub-committee did 'look to the State schools equally with the "Public Schools" for an increased output of trained ability and leadership', and 'wish to see an end of class-monopolies in education'.⁹² On the same day, Clarke wrote to Faber and indicated that 'I do not think they will regard it as answering squarely the direct question that was put in the *Times* article.' Once again, he asked Faber to face the social fact, that is, 'the close association of key positions in Church and State with the mere fact of having attended a public school'.⁹³

One week later, Clarke wrote another letter to Faber. Clarke argued that even if the public schools could play a great part in producing the ruling class, they had no

Conservative Party Archives, CRD/2/32/11.

⁹⁰ Anonymous, 'Aims in Education', *Times*, 7th September 1942.

⁹¹ Quoted in Geoffrey Faber, 'Public Schools: Place in National System', *Times*, 10th September 1942.

⁹² Geoffrey Faber, 'Public Schools: Place in National System', *Times*, 10th September 1942.

⁹³ Fred Clarke to Geoffrey Faber, 10th September 1942. Conservative Research Department papers, Conservative Party Archives, CRD/2/32/11.

‘claim to any kind of monopoly’ of it as the report implied. He warned Faber of the risk that ‘Any suggestion of that kind will arouse bitter resentment.’ Moreover, he noted that the report also contained ‘the confusion between “independent” as applying to a group of select private schools and “independent” as describing the proper educational status of any school that is doing a good job well’. ‘From this’, Clarke believed, ‘arises the half-pitying, half-contemptuous attitude which seems to reveal itself in that most unfortunate expression: “a mere part of the State system”.’ More important, Clarke observed that Faber had been adopting a ‘sideways’ approach, that is, confusing educational argument with social privilege. Hence, at the end of this letter, Clarke re-emphasized that ‘I must hold my hand until I see how you are going to handle that I have called the supreme confusion.’⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, Clarke realized the potential influence of Faber and his sub-committee on the policies of the Conservative Party, especially on the issue of the public schools. In effect, most members of the committee would agree that the dangerous gap between the public schools and the rest of the educational system ought to be closed. However, for them, the public schools’ role was still vital. Consequently, as D. W. Dean puts it, their approval was ‘mixed with fears and reservations’.⁹⁵

Clarke not only remarked on the work of the sub-committee of the Conservative Party but also examined *Memorandum on Education after the War*, published by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), and *Plan for Education*, the report of the Workers’ Educational Association. For Clarke, neither of these documents was prepared to leave much place for the public schools. Indeed, the TUC proposed that ‘The great

⁹⁴ Fred Clarke to Geoffrey Faber, 18th September 1942. Conservative Research Department papers, Conservative Party Archives, CRD/2/32/11.

⁹⁵ D. W. Dean, ‘Problems of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education 1941-1945’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 3/1 (1970), 26-37 (p. 34).

majority of these schools are based on class distinctions, and in so far as that is their only claim to existence, they should be abolished.’⁹⁶ In the light of this, Clarke argued that ‘unless it is claimed that such schools are wholly without distinctive virtues of their own, the possibility ought to be explored of communicating such virtues as they have much more widely’.⁹⁷ Furthermore, in Clarke’s view, these two documents ‘appeal less to tradition than to rational criteria’. Hence, another weakness of them was that they ‘underrate both the real complexities of the English situation and the strength of the forces that have somehow to be reconciled to measures of equalization’.⁹⁸ Clarke’s criticism of documents from both of the Right and the Left showed his ‘liberal’ or ‘non-partisan’ approach to education. He did not strongly support one political party or one group of people. Instead, he was inclined to consider educational issues in the interest of the whole nation, which helped broaden his influence and made his reform proposals more acceptable for people with different political positions. Moreover, in the face of different and even conflicting viewpoints in these documents, he called for ‘the quiet dispassionate thinking, the ability to evaluate ideas and proposals on their merits whatever their source, and the freedom from prejudice and partisan feeling’. All of this, for him, was essential to the creation of a ‘carefully hammered-out responsible agreement’ and a genuine democratic solution.⁹⁹

The importance of a common ground created by both sides was reiterated in Clarke’s other speech at Charterhouse, a public school in Surrey. According to

⁹⁶ Trades Union Congress, *Memorandum on Education after the War* (London: T. U. C., 1942), 6. Clarke’s library, Newsam Library.

⁹⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Ends and Means in Educational Reconstruction II’, *The Journal of Education*, January 1943, 7-9 (p. 8).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Public Opinion and Education: Is A Democratic Solution Possible?’, *The Journal of Education*, November 1942, 477-478 (p. 477).

Clarke's analysis, in the debate, there were two 'separate camps'.¹⁰⁰ One was 'emphasizing exclusiveness and prerogative position' with a belief that the state system was inferior. The other was 'resentful and tending to disregard the strong educational case of the public schools'. From Clarke's perspective, what the former was defending and what the latter was attacking were, in the last resort, 'not educational at all'. Moreover, Clarke believed that it was 'from a situation in which non-educational interest causes each side to disregard the basic values of the other' that a 'clash' arose. In view of this, Clarke called for a 'basic agreement' reached by both sides so that the clash could be avoided.¹⁰¹

5.1.3 Secondary Education for All

Another field which was at the core of Clarke's campaign was secondary education. In effect, Clarke had been concerned about the issue of secondary education in the British Dominions from the 1920s onwards. In South Africa, he urged universal secondary education. In Canada, he argued for the necessity of selection on the basis of the ideal of equality in an organic society. Moreover, he continued to pay attention to the development of secondary education in England and started becoming involved in the English reform after his return to England in 1935. Therefore, in the early 1940s, when a great opportunity for educational reconstruction appeared, secondary education, in his view, was in no doubt 'the citadel to be stormed in this country'.¹⁰² As he emphasized, 'the place of secondary education is central and must be the point of departure for any intelligent replanning

¹⁰⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Introductory Talk on Reconstruction', Charterhouse, 5th February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Group on Education minutes, 21st-22nd February 1942. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 13/4/212. (One copy of this was donated by William Taylor to the IOE Archives).

of education'.¹⁰³ In the light of the importance of secondary education for a new order, he actively communicated his proposals for 'secondary education for all' to university students, teachers and the public through his speeches, lectures along with journal articles.

In relation to the ideal of 'secondary education for all', Clarke addressed various issues such as the administrative system of secondary education as well as its duration, fees, selection, organization and curriculum. First of all, so far as the administrative system was concerned, as early as 1927, he had argued that the 'Part III' authorities, which were responsible for elementary education only and yet provided secondary education, must either cease to exist or become authorities for secondary education. Furthermore, he urged the abandonment of the category 'elementary' and the classification of all education up to eleven plus as 'primary' and of all subsequent education up to the university stage as 'secondary'. In February 1941, he raised the issue again in his article in the *Times Educational Supplement*. Responding to the fear of the public that education 'is likely to suffer from an excess of "regimentation"', he maintained that, in reality, education had suffered from 'insufficient regimentation where it was needed'. The 'Part III' authorities made a good example of this. As he explained, 'the bulk of the education that is now to be regarded as "secondary" is administered as elementary, much of it by Part III authorities which have no power to provide secondary education as such'.¹⁰⁴ In view of this, he proposed in his speeches a 'single administration of post-primary' and the 'integration of senior schools with [the] whole system'.¹⁰⁵ To

¹⁰³ Fred Clarke, 'The Social Function of Secondary Education', *The Sociological Review*, 33/3 & 4, July-October 1941, 105-125 (p. 112). Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Regimentation: Good and Bad', *TES*, 8th February 1941, p. 60.

¹⁰⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction in Education', Lunch Lecture, U. C., 23rd February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43; Fred Clarke, 'Possible Development in English Education', Maria Grey, 21st

his mind, the resolve that 'all education of adolescents shall be graded and administered as secondary' could be conceived as 'further evidence of a deep and strong common urge towards equality of opportunity and a new level of common fellowship'.¹⁰⁶

Second, with regard to the duration of secondary education, in the 1920s, Clarke had defined secondary education as the education of adolescents from 12 to about 17 or 18. Furthermore, he argued that part-time continued education should be incorporated into the area of secondary education. Twenty years later, he still insisted that the age of tutelage should be up to 18 at least.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, when H. C. Dent, acting editor of the *Times Educational Supplement*, presented an article, 'Reform in Education', for discussion in the Moot, Clarke disapproved of Dent's suggestion that the post-primary stage should be extended to the age of 21.¹⁰⁸ The reason for Clarke's opposition was that 'the interviews of the 16-18 year old girls had revealed that a very considerable number of them were already married'.¹⁰⁹ After all, as he noted, '18 meant so many different things in different ranks of society'.¹¹⁰ Although, for Clarke, secondary education should include full-time education and part-time continued education, this section will focus on the duration of full-time education, that is, on the issue of school-leaving age. In 1936, an Act had been enacted to raise the leaving age to 15 but with exemptions for beneficial employment. This induced widespread criticism from the public, in particular from

February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹⁰⁶ Fred Clarke, 'The Prospect in English Education', [n.d.; 1942?] Clarke papers, FC/1/27.

¹⁰⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁰⁸ H. C. Dent, 'Reform in Education', For Dr. J. H. Oldham's Moot, 16th May 1942. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/MOO/81.

¹⁰⁹ Group on Education minutes, 16th-17th May 1942. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/MOO/80.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Tawney. Nevertheless, because of the Second World War, this Act never came into operation.¹¹¹ Hence, as Simon indicates, in the early 1940s, once again, there was consistent pressure to raise the school-leaving age to 15 and then to 16.¹¹² One of the leading advocates of this reform was Tawney.

In September 1940, because Herwald Ramsbotham, President of the Board of Education (April 1940 – July 1941), intended to abandon the policy of raising the school-age to 15 and substitute for it part-time continued education, Tawney wrote to Clarke to seek his support.¹¹³ Tawney argued that ‘what really matters to young people’ was that ‘they should grow up a little longer in the atmosphere of a spiritual society, such as a good school is, and very few factories can be’. ‘If what is proposed is Continuation Schools at 14 for [pupils] from 8 to 12 hours a week’, he added, ‘there is no doubt that the dominant influence will, in most cases, be wage-earning employment.’¹¹⁴ On this account, Tawney expressed his position clearly as follows:

Though personally I believe in full-time education up to 16, followed at that age by two years continued education to 18, I should not fight hard against Continuation Schools at 15, provided that full-time schooling is continued to that age, and the foolish provisions as to exemptions in the Act of 1936 abolished.¹¹⁵

At the end of the letter, Tawney begged Clarke to use his influence ‘in favour of

¹¹¹ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 28.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹¹³ R. H. Tawney to Fred Clarke, 30th September 1940. Tawney Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/TY/2/12.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

getting the age of full-time attendance raised to 15'.¹¹⁶ Several days later, Clarke replied to Tawney and stated that 'On immediate policy I am wholly with you in holding tight to the 15 minimum with no exemptions. Nothing less is good enough for a foundation.' Moreover, he went on to give Tawney his promise. As he put it, 'I am ready to say this anywhere at any time and if you put me on to opportunities I will take them.'¹¹⁷ After his correspondence with Tawney, Clarke wrote a paper on secondary education for discussion in the Moot and maintained that full-time education should be extended to '16 plus at least'.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he promoted this policy in his speeches.¹¹⁹ Additionally, in respect of fees, in the 1920s, Clarke had opposed Tawney's proposal that secondary education should be free. Nevertheless, he turned to accept free secondary education in the early 1940s.¹²⁰

Third, Clarke also addressed the issue of selection in secondary education in this period. As he had been arguing from the early 1930s onwards, on the grounds of his conception of free personality, which embodied Green's ideals of developmental democracy, and his organic interpretation of equality, which was in accordance with Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function as well as Lindsay's Christian concept of equality that equality would welcome and demand differences, Clarke emphasized the importance of selection and differentiation in secondary education.¹²¹ Moreover, he claimed again that, in universal secondary education,

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Fred Clarke to R. H. Tawney, 5th October 1940. Tawney Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/TY/2/11.

¹¹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Notes on Secondary Education in England', For Dr. J. H. Oldham's Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹¹⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Education in a Changing England', Loughborough, 5th June 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/52; Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction in Education', Lunch Lecture, U. C., 23rd February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

¹²⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Towards Reconstruction in Education', Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

¹²¹ Fred Clarke, 'Possible Development in English Education', Maria Grey, 21st February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

selection would no longer ‘mean selection out of the rack of a favoured few for a specially privileged form of education called “secondary”, but rather the allocation of every pupil, at the appropriate age, to the form of education most advantageous to him and, through him, to the community’.¹²² In other words, selection ought not to be ‘a sheep and goats selection’, but ‘allocation and distribution to appropriate types of training’.¹²³ In the process of selection, Clarke argued that only the ‘capacity and bent’ and the ‘educational possibilities’ of each pupil, as well as the ‘need for various forms of social power’ should be taken into account.¹²⁴ For ‘equalizing of educational opportunity’, selection should be ‘irrespective of class’.¹²⁵ According to the democratic interpretation of selection, Clarke pointed out that the ‘age point’ of selection and the techniques of selection were ‘all wrong now’.¹²⁶ Hence, he called for a ‘revision of machinery’.¹²⁷

In respect of the age of selection, as Clarke proposed in *Education and Social Change*, 13-plus would be preferable to 11-plus. In his correspondence with Tawney, he provided his reason for this. For Clarke, the case for 11-plus was to ‘rest much more on administrative convenience than on educational principle[s]’.¹²⁸ He argued that ‘Once the leaving age was raised to 16, you could defer the decision until 13.’ In other words, from Clarke’s perspective, ‘no definite decision’ about pupils’ future

¹²² Fred Clarke, ‘A Note on the Exploratory Years’, *The New Era*, Vol.22, No. 9, September-October 1941, 198-200 (p. 199).

¹²³ Fred Clarke, ‘Changing Conception of Secondary Education’, *Surrey Teachers*, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and the Future’, Newark, 22nd March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹²⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Freedom of Man in Modern Society’, N. U. C. Economic Society, 13th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/29.

¹²⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Changing Conception of Secondary Education’, *Surrey Teachers*, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Fred Clarke to R. H. Tawney, 5th October 1940. Tawney Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/TY/2/11.

‘should be made until 13’.¹²⁹ This was argued by Clarke time and again, not only in his paper on secondary education for the Moot discussion but also in his speeches.¹³⁰ As for the techniques of selection, as early as 1933, Clarke had suggested the ‘Observation and Sorting Chamber’ for pupils at the age of 12-15. In 1939, he continued to argue for ‘a common “try-out” period for all’ for conducting ‘appropriate sifting and distribution according to capacity and bent’, though the age group was shifted from 12-15 to 11-13.¹³¹ His position on this issue remained unchanged after the outbreak of the Second World War.

For Clarke, the selective examination at 11-plus was ‘catastrophic’.¹³² This was because the examination was ‘liable, even under the best conditions, to distorting factors and exercising an undesirable influence on the junior school’.¹³³ On this account, he maintained that ‘the essential negative change is to abandon altogether the catastrophic examination’.¹³⁴ Moreover, he suggested that ‘there should intervene between the ages of 11-plus and 13 a period of Special Observation, in which the pupil is given new opportunities and his growth and achievements are carefully watched and recorded’. By doing so, Clarke went on to argue, evidence which was far more reliable than any examination could be yielded.¹³⁵ However, before the idea of ‘an exploratory period’ from 11 to 13 became the settled practice,

¹²⁹ Group on Education minutes, 16th-17th May 1942. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/MOO/80.

¹³⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Notes on Secondary Education in England’, For Dr. J. H. Oldham’s Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, ‘Possible Development in English Education’, Maria Grey, 21st February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, ‘Towards Reconstruction in Education’, Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/43; Fred Clarke, ‘English Education’, Services Summer School. July, August 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

¹³¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Future of Secondary Education’, the N. U. W. T. Educational Conference at University College, London, 6th May 1939. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹³² Fred Clarke, ‘Changing Conception of Secondary Education’, Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹³³ Fred Clarke, ‘A Note on the Exploratory Years’, 199.

¹³⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Notes on Secondary Education in England’, For Dr. J. H. Oldham’s Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

he emphasized, 'a considerable interval of experiment and adaptation' was required.¹³⁶ For instance, he maintained that 'adequate and varied criteria by which sorting can be done' must be discovered and formulated through educational research.¹³⁷

Allied with the issue of selection was the organization of secondary education. Since by selection Clarke meant allocation or distribution of pupils to appropriate types of education, in July 1941, he contended that there must be 'diversity of provision', 'both within individual schools and in variety of types'.¹³⁸ Similarly, in September 1941, he also argued for diversity of 'school types' and 'curricula'.¹³⁹ These claims showed that, in 1941, Clarke envisaged the organization of secondary education only in terms of separate schools, that is, different types of secondary school. This was consistent with the suggestion of the Spens Report. The Report indicated that the fundamental problem was 'the proper allocation of children as between schools of different types'.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, in accordance with the Report, Clarke also called for the 'greatest approximation to parity'.¹⁴¹ Moreover, he also supported the establishment of the technical high school proposed by the Report. Nevertheless, in wartime, he became critical of the name of the technical high school. He urged the 'exclusion of qualifying names like "technical"'.¹⁴² In his view, the use of the term 'technical' connoted 'another kind of education, other than the

¹³⁶ Fred Clarke, 'A Note on the Exploratory Years', 199.

¹³⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The Case for Educational Research', Birmingham, Midland A. T. C. D. E., 5th June 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

¹³⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Education and Social Change', Aberystwyth, 8th July 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/52.

¹³⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴⁰ Spens Report, xxxii.

¹⁴¹ Fred Clarke, 'Towards Reconstruction in Education', Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/43. See also the Spens Report, 293.

¹⁴² Ibid.

“cultural” or “general”.”¹⁴³ This was against one of his ideas about democratic education, the integration of culture and vocation. Even though pupils should be allocated to different types of education around the age of 12 or 13, he insisted, ‘these cannot be sharply classified into culture and vocation’.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, he argued that secondary schools should concentrate on ‘exploration and preparation in a total handling which is also cultural’.¹⁴⁵ Accordingly, he suggested that the use of the term ‘technical’ be ‘abandoned altogether at the secondary stage’.¹⁴⁶

Despite the fact that, in 1941, Clarke considered a structure of separate and different types of secondary school to be the organization of secondary education, as time went on, it became just one of alternatives for Clarke. As Simon indicates, in the early 1940s, there was a campaign for the multilateral school, that is, a single secondary school having diversified courses. It was mainly supported by the left, in particular the National Association of Labour Teachers (NALT).¹⁴⁷ However, Simon argues that ‘the movement gained support well beyond the left’. Cyril Burt, the distinguished psychologist, Graham Savage, London’s Chief Education Officer, and Dent all advocated the multilateral school.¹⁴⁸ Dent claimed plainly that ‘I am utterly opposed to the idea of segregating adolescents in different types of schools’.¹⁴⁹ He explained his reason for this as follows:

A true democracy must be a community, united by a common purpose, bound by

¹⁴³ Fred Clarke, ‘Notes on Secondary Education in England’, For Dr. J. H. Oldham’s Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and the Future’, Newark, 22nd March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Notes on Secondary Education in England’, For Dr. J. H. Oldham’s Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴⁷ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 47-48.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 48-49.

¹⁴⁹ H. C. Dent, *A New Order in English Education* (London: University of London Press, 1942), 57.

a common interest, and inspired by a common ethos. These ideals cannot be realized if from an early age children are segregated in mutually exclusive categories. All should be members of the one school, which should provide adequately for diversity of individual aptitudes and interests, yet unite all as members of a single community.¹⁵⁰

Unlike the advocates of the multilateral school, in this period, Clarke was open to the two options, that is, the multilateral school and separate secondary schools. In his paper on secondary education for the Moot discussion in February 1942, he argued that a sufficient variety of forms of secondary education ‘will mean variety of organized curricula, whether provided together in a multilateral large school, or distinctively in separate schools’.¹⁵¹ Hence, it can be argued that, for Clarke, the multilateral school was simply an alternative to separate and different types of secondary school, rather than a substitute for them.

Last, Clarke also called for a reform of secondary education curriculum. He argued that ‘the principle of the autonomy of the school in determining curricula will have to be somewhat modified’.¹⁵² In other words, for Clarke, the category of curriculum also required re-planning. Clarke maintained that there ought to be ‘a series of specifically designed curricula (with varieties), taken either in multi-lateral school or in distinct types of school appropriately organized’.¹⁵³ He also made a strong case for research in order to guarantee that these curricula would be relevant to ‘levels of age and ability in pupils’ and adapted to ‘individual types in different

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹⁵¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Notes on Secondary Education in England’, For Dr. J. H. Oldham’s Moot, 22nd February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵² Fred Clarke, ‘Regimentation: Good and Bad’, *TES*, 8th February 1941, p. 60.

¹⁵³ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary School Curriculum’, [n.d.] Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

kinds of school'.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, in relation to the content of curriculum, considering that secondary education must contribute to social integration and the unity of a nation, Clarke argued that although 'it is not necessary that all should attend the same system of schools', all should possess 'a common stock of knowledge and body of ideas and the sharing in identical attitudes and points of view'.¹⁵⁵ From this perspective, he maintained that:

The source of a basic curriculum is always the common culture and we need to be much more clear than we have yet become about those elements of literature, history, nature-knowledge, geography, handicraft, aesthetic experience, common techniques and the rest which go to make up the desirable common stock.¹⁵⁶

He also suggested that in drawing the content out of the stock of the common culture, people should ask a question: 'What equipment [will pupils need] for free and effective living in a world like this?'.¹⁵⁷

Additionally, in respect of the forms of presentation of curriculum, Clarke argued for a 'functional' conception of curriculum.¹⁵⁸ By the late 1930s, Clarke had attempted to formulate this conception. He argued that the reform of curriculum was 'not so much [a] radical change of "subjects", as a re-consideration of what "subject" means in terms of [its] effect upon pupil[s]', that is, 'production in pupil[s]

¹⁵⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The Case for Educational Research', Birmingham, Midland A. T. C. D. E., 5th June 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

¹⁵⁵ Fred Clarke, 'The Social Function of Secondary Education', 119.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 120.

¹⁵⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Possible Development in English Education', Maria Grey, 21st February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

of some relevant power of functioning'.¹⁵⁹ In 1941, Clarke continued to construct his ideas of curriculum along the conception of function. He claimed that 'Curriculum [is] a programme of activities designed to produce in individuals a unified scheme of functioning.'¹⁶⁰ Based on this, he proposed the 'dethronement of "subjects"'.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, in replacement of subjects, he set forth three categories, 'techniques', 'expression', and 'interpretations', which were 'not necessarily corresponding to separate groups of subjects'.¹⁶² Nevertheless, Clarke argued that there was 'not reduced emphasis on logically compacted knowledge but more stress on functional result [which is] aimed at'.¹⁶³

5.1.4 Compulsory Part-time Continued Education

Clarke argued that after full-time schooling ending at the age of 16, adolescents must be provided 'some kind of "continued" education' and 'a national youth service' until the age of 18 in that 'at the heart of the whole problem of secondary education...lies at least one crucial act of transcending, that of transcending the distinction between leaving school and continuing one's education'.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, he claimed that continued education and youth service should be 'assimilated to adult education, rather than to earlier school education'.¹⁶⁵ In other words, they should not be conceived as 'an extension' of full-time schooling, but 'a vestibule' to

¹⁵⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Schools in a Changing World', Maria Grey, 17th April 1937. Clarke papers, FC/1/52.

¹⁶⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Crisis of Culture and the Curriculum', M. A. (London), 15th March. 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Fred Clarke, 'Secondary School Curriculum', [n.d.] Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹⁶³ Fred Clarke, 'Crisis of Culture and the Curriculum', M. A. (London), 15th March. 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁶⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The Social Function of Secondary Education', 106, 125.

¹⁶⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

adult education.¹⁶⁶

First of all, with regard to continued education, Clarke once suggested ‘some sort of popular university’. As he explained, it should be ‘something like the American Junior College, incorporating into it the art school, the technical college, etc’.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, at a meeting of the Moot in February 1942, he maintained that part-time continued education up to 18 should become compulsory.¹⁶⁸ At the meeting, the members including Clarke eventually came to a conclusion that they would ‘say to Butler that we must have education up to 18’ and the ‘need for compulsory powers over 16-18 group’. Moreover, Clarke also noted that he would try to ‘get an opportunity of putting the case to Butler’.¹⁶⁹ Apart from seeking to influence Butler, the Moot also attempted to preach the idea of compulsory continued education up to 18. As Oldham put it, the task of the Moot ‘was to get this issue faced as a national one and create the atmosphere in which the change could come about’.¹⁷⁰ Clarke agreed with Oldham and proposed that ‘we should look round for the most effective means of propaganda’.¹⁷¹ On this account, in October 1942, Clarke wrote an article, ‘A Plan for Youth: The Element of Compulsion’, in the *Times*. In this article, he emphasized that ‘when once means are available in sufficient quantity and variety’, compulsion should be applied to continued education.¹⁷² He believed that compulsion could be justifiable ‘solely and entirely

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘The Administrative Background’, Address to Conference of the Training College Association at Leicester. *Training College Bulletin*, No.51, November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

¹⁶⁸ Group on Education minutes, 21st-22nd February 1942. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 13/4/212. (One copy of this was donated by William Taylor to the IOE Archives).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Group on Education minutes, 16th-17th May 1942. Moot Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/MOO/80.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Fred Clarke, ‘A Plan for Youth: the Element of Compulsion’, *Times*, 10th October 1942.

in terms of the needs of individual freedom'.¹⁷³ The idea was reiterated in his other article in the *Journal of Education*.¹⁷⁴ He asked the public not to 'rob ourselves of good things because of stupid mutterings of "Hitler Youth" or "regimentation" or "totalitarianism" whenever there is a fresh proposal to apply the processes of law to the achievement of individual freedom'. After all, as he went on to stress, 'Any one of us would be in pretty poor shape today were it not for the many compulsions, social, administrative, statutory and the like, that have gone to the making of his freedom.'¹⁷⁵ Although compulsory part-time continued education seemed less central to the wartime educational reform, it did reflect Clarke's ideas of democracy to a certain degree, especially his conception of freedom and his attitude towards the functions of the State. As noted in chapter 4, for Clarke, the achievement of freedom required the basic discipline of an established social and cultural order. Moreover, compulsion through State actions was in accordance with Clarke's democratic idea that the State should secure a necessary minimum of education for all, which was indispensable for the development of free personality in each citizen. This idea about the functions of the State, in effect, mirrored a major theme of developmental democracy, that is, the extension of the power of the State to guarantee conditions such as education for citizens' development.

After publishing these two articles, Clarke and a group of administrators, teachers, and business men drew up a statement on a 'part-time system' of continued education in the *Times* in December 1942.¹⁷⁶ They proposed that, as regards the curriculum, basic subjects should include (a) physical education; (b) English, both

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Public Opinion and Education: Is a Democratic Solution Possible?', 478.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Anonymous, 'Education After The War', *Times*, 1 December 1942.

spoken and written; (c) the study of the national community and its place in the world. They believed that 'These will provide for bodily fitness, ability both to make oneself understood and to understand the spoken and written word, and develop a sense of communal responsibility.' Aside from compulsory subjects, they argued that, for a large majority, 'the widest, possible choice of such subjects as drama, general science, music, handicrafts, literature and discussion groups' should be offered. Moreover, adolescents should attend 'more than the equivalent of a day a week'. In rural areas, 'residential courses during the winter months over four or six weeks' could be substituted for weekly attendance. Most important, 'young people should be required to attend'.¹⁷⁷

As for youth service, in October 1940, Clarke indicated to Tawney that he had prepared a memorandum on the idea of a Youth Service for a friend in the Government some time ago.¹⁷⁸ His scheme for a youth service was also represented in his speech in February 1942.¹⁷⁹ To begin with, he argued that a youth service in England should achieve three aims, that is, personal, cultural and national aims. The personal aim was to 'release' adolescents' 'impulses, powers and energies' and to make them focus on 'significant achievement'. The cultural aim was not only to help 'the establishment in youth of the stable and more permanent values of a common culture', but to encourage 'creative response[s]' to the 'contradictions and defects' of the culture. As for the national aim, a youth service was also 'for national renewal and for a recovery of the sense of national mission'. In order to achieve these aims, Clarke set forth some principles of providing a youth service. For example, he

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Fred Clarke to R. H. Tawney, 5th October. 1940. Tawney papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/ TY/2/11.

¹⁷⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Principles of A Youth Service in England', *King's College Education Society Bulletin*, May 1942 (containing synopses of lectures given to the King's College Education Society at Newcastle University on 7th February 1942). Clarke papers, FC/1/58.

argued that 'the whole training should be forward-looking, that is, contemplating the tasks and interests of adult years'. It should also be 'disciplinary', 'having in it a clear plan and guided by a clear image of the personal type'.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, 'class-mixture' should be prevalent in all activities of a youth service.¹⁸¹ More important, a youth service should become a 'training-ground' for the maintenance of the 'essentials of [a democratic] way of life', including 'parliamentary government', 'local and group autonomy', 'diversity of ways to some general ends', 'free citizenship', 'responsible participation' and the 'process of discussion'.¹⁸²

5.1.5 Other Fields

In addition to the four main fields indicated above, Clarke was also concerned about teacher education, adult education, and nursery education. In general, Clarke made more efforts to urge a reform of teacher education. In October 1940, he stated to Tawney that he was 'anxious about the selection and education of the teachers and feel that we must have a Royal Commission on it quite soon'.¹⁸³ In February 1942, at a meeting of the Moot, he was worried that teachers were going to be 'the willing minions of any regime in power'.¹⁸⁴ Thus, he argued that 'nothing short of a Royal Commission was any good'.¹⁸⁵ One month later, a committee which was responsible for a national enquiry into teacher training was appointed. This committee consisted of the Chairman, Sir Arnold McNair, and other nine members,

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Fred Clarke, 'Youth Service', Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 7th February 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/58.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Fred Clarke to R. H. Tawney, 5th October 1940. Tawney Papers, Institute of Education Archives, DC/TY/2/11.

¹⁸⁴ Group on Education minutes, 21st-22nd February 1942. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 13/4/212. (One copy of this was donated by William Taylor to the IOE Archives).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

including Clarke.¹⁸⁶ In this committee, Clarke supported strongly the proposal that each university should establish a School of Education, though McNair and some members opposed it because they feared that the number of training college students would overwhelm the 'absorptive capacity' of universities.¹⁸⁷ In effect, in November 1941, in a letter to H. C. Barnard, an educational historian and Professor of the University of Reading, Clarke once mentioned that he had been thinking about the need for more organic relationships between universities and training colleges.¹⁸⁸ In March 1942, he also argued that 'universities and training colleges should be brought into much closer and more organic relations in order to co-operate more effectively in the common undertaking'.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, he was convinced that 'every institution which is recognized as competent to train teachers should be regarded...as a school of education'.¹⁹⁰ In his view, 'a claim of that kind is fundamental to any policy which is to ensure the necessary advance in facilities, staffing and public recognition'.¹⁹¹ In December 1942, this relationship between the universities and the training of teachers was also discussed by the All Souls Group. At its meeting, Clarke claimed that 'there was a great deal of wasted possibility because of the indifference of the Universities'. He hoped that 'all Universities would be closer linked with Training Colleges in their regions'.¹⁹²

Aside from teacher education, Clarke also called for the rethinking of adult

¹⁸⁶ Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Teachers and Youth Leaders* (London: HMSO, 1944) (McNair Report), 5.

¹⁸⁷ Peter Gosden, *Education in the Second World War* (London: Methuen, 1976), 398.

¹⁸⁸ Fred Clarke to H. C. Barnard, 19th November 1941. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/1.

¹⁸⁹ Fred Clarke to K. B. Anderson, 10th March 1942. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/1.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Meeting Minutes of the All Souls Group on December 18th/19th 1942 on 'The Recruitment, Selection and Training of Teachers', in a report on 'The Supply and Deployment of Teachers' of the All Souls Group [n.d.]. Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/1/3.

education since it was 'no longer belated compensation for those who have missed the bus but necessary education that can be given only in adult years'.¹⁹³ Moreover, he argued that adult education was 'that education which looks upon culture as the life which we all share, as well as that to which each distinctively contributes'.¹⁹⁴ From this perspective, for him, adult education should be regarded as 'the means of harmonizing the diversity of interest and clash of sectional philosophies which must arise in society and education marked by many specialisms[sic]'.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, he also argued that education should be extended to the age group of 2-5.¹⁹⁶ The functions of pre-schools, he proclaimed, should include 'exploration', 'evoking of powers', 'social [development] and health', and a 'supplementary of family'.¹⁹⁷

5.2 Preconditions for Educational Reconstruction

Apart from promoting his reform proposals, Clarke emphasized some preconditions for successful educational reconstruction. First, he argued for change in social attitudes and habits repeatedly in numerous speeches. For example, in December 1940, he pointed out that 'tinkering with educational system' was futile 'unless change in social habits [takes place]'.¹⁹⁸ Equally, in February 1941, he maintained that 'change in social attitudes and habits [is] more important than money'. For Clarke, 'prestige of [the] public schools', 'caste among teachers', and

¹⁹³ Fred Clarke, 'Education and the Future', Newark, 22nd March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹⁹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Culture and Vocation', Oxford Vacation Course, 22nd August 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/25.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction in Education', Lunch Lecture, U. C., 23rd February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43; Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction', Students, 26th February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

¹⁹⁷ Fred Clarke, 'English Education', Services Summer School. July, August 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

¹⁹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'The Prospect in English Education', University Women, Nottingham, 7th December, 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

‘unassimilated elementary school[s]’ were the attitudes and habits which needed to be changed.¹⁹⁹ He believed that educational change should follow fundamental social change rather than precede it.²⁰⁰ In another speech in November 1941, he also made a similar claim that ‘the changes essential to any re-construction...must take effect first and mainly in the region of social or cultural attitudes rather than of specific educational arrangements’.²⁰¹ In March 1942, Clarke indicated to the audience more clearly that ‘You will get very little out of any educational reconstruction unless there have taken place some profound changes of social attitudes between classes.’²⁰² Since ‘roots of weakness and reform’ were ‘outside school system’, Clarke stressed that there was a ‘need for critical self-examination of all aspects of social and cultural life’.²⁰³ In early 1943, when new legislation seemed possible, Clarke was more concerned about the ‘danger of exclusive regard to administrative and legislative changes’.²⁰⁴ For him, the problems of reconstruction had ‘roots in history and condition of English society’, which were ‘at deeper levels than purely administrative and legislative action can reach directly’.²⁰⁵

Second, similar to what he stressed in *Education and Social Change*, Clarke argued that educational reconstruction must rely on the development and adaptation

¹⁹⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Possible Development in English Education’, Maria Grey, 21st February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁰⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and the Future’, Newark, 22nd March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁰¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Towards Reconstruction in Education’, Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

²⁰² *The Newark Advertiser*, 18 March 1942, The Future of Education: address by Fred Clarke to Newark and District Discussion Club. (the talk was given on 14th March, 1942). Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

²⁰³ Fred Clarke, ‘Some Considerations Underlying Educational Reconstruction’, Women’s Luncheon Club, Derby, 17th March 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

²⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Introductory Talk on Reconstruction’, Charterhouse, 5th February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

²⁰⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Reconstruction in Education’, Lunch Lecture, U. C., 23rd February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

of tradition in terms of ‘objective and clearly thought-out criteria of social justice and utility’.²⁰⁶ On this account, he emphasized that the ‘capacity for grasping and acting upon broad general principles must be increased’.²⁰⁷ In an article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, he begged earnestly that ‘each one of us, before declaring himself a believer in that idea [equality of opportunity], will make himself fully aware both of the social and educational philosophy that such a belief implies and of the practical results of applying it in English society’.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, he maintained that the principle of equality of opportunity ought to be applied to the modification and adaptation of the tradition in secondary education and the public schools.²⁰⁹ In relation to this, from March 1942, Clarke started reflecting on the meaning of the term ‘reconstruction’.²¹⁰ For him, ‘reconstruction’ suggested ‘a pick and shovel and hammer business of knocking down a building and putting up another’. He emphasized that this could not be done ‘with things belonging to human beings such as education’. In order to avoid the ‘mechanical analogies’, he recommended that ‘reconstruction’ be replaced by ‘re-inspiration’ or ‘re-direction’.²¹¹ Also, since tradition should be adapted in terms of rational criteria, he argued that ‘reinterpretation’ was a better word than ‘reconstruction’. Moreover, ‘reinterpretation’ should imply ‘re-thinking by everybody’ instead of ‘re-making by a few’.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘The Prospect in English Education’, University Women, Nottingham, 7th December, 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁰⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and Social Change’, Aberystwyth, 8th July 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/52.

²⁰⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘Education for the People’, *TES*, 19th July 1941, p. 339.

²⁰⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Some Considerations Underlying Educational Reconstruction’, Women’s Luncheon Club, Derby, 17th March 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

²¹⁰ *The Newark Advertiser*, 18th March 1942, The Future of Education: address by Fred Clarke to Newark and District Discussion Club. (the talk was given on 14th March, 1942). Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Fred Clarke, ‘Is “Reconstruction” the Right Word?’, Maria Grey, Dudley, 17th November 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

Additionally, Clarke argued that reconstruction required an ‘adequate common purpose’.²¹³ This was because a common purpose could provide ‘a new-found basis of internal national unity’.²¹⁴ Hence, for Clarke, ‘absorbing class-distinctions within a common ideal’ was important.²¹⁵ Clarke did appreciate ‘the immense difficulty of this’, since this would require ‘disinterestedness and integrity’.²¹⁶ Moreover, people had to ‘count the cost’, which depended on ‘sincerity’, ‘clear-headedness’ and ‘imagination’.²¹⁷ Apart from this, Clarke contended that ‘an accepted common philosophy’ be established so that diversities in ‘separated community, class interests and outlooks’ could be transcended.²¹⁸ The common philosophy should be a Christian philosophy as it involved the doctrines of ‘sin, incarnation and redemption’, which could ‘afford the adequate basis for social philosophy’. In Clarke’s belief, ‘the ground of social cohesion [is] always in [the] last resort religious’. Moreover, he maintained that ‘Christian features will be shown’ in education. That is to say, it was important to ‘work out [a] Christian philosophy of education’, which would imply ‘new regard for equality’ and ‘much diversity of treatments’.²¹⁹ Clarke believed that the common educational philosophy was indispensable for the public school question and the ‘elementary issues’ since the ‘real problem of both is [the] integration [of them] into a diverse unity’.²²⁰ Similar to Clarke, William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury (1942-1944), also published a book entitled *Christianity and Social Order* in 1942 and proposed his educational

²¹³ Fred Clarke, ‘Freedom of Man in Modern Society’, N. U. C. Economic Society, 13th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/29; Fred Clarke, ‘The English Idea in Education’, Nottingham Education Society, 16th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

²¹⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Ends and Means in Educational Reconstruction II’, 7.

²¹⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Some Considerations Underlying Educational Reconstruction’, Women’s Luncheon Club, Derby, 17th March 1942. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

²¹⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and Social Change’, Aberystwyth, 8th July 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/52.

²¹⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Education and the Future’, Newark, 22nd March 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²¹⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘The English Idea in Education’, Nottingham Education Society, 16th November 1940. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

²¹⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘A Christian Society and its Education’, Ministers’ Fraternal (Loughborough), 17th February 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/11.

²²⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Reconstruction’, Students, 26th February 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/43.

views in conformity to three principles of a Christian social order, namely freedom, social fellowship and service.²²¹ As mentioned in chapter 4, in accordance with other Anglicans, Clarke believed that Christianity and its faith could provide a vital basis for a democratic society.

In conclusion, from 1940 to mid-1943, Clarke acted as a leading campaigner for educational reconstruction. His reform proposals reflected his ideas of democracy and the ideals of developmental democracy to a great degree. On the basis of his acceptance of the extension of the State's power and his ideas about the role of the State in guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity for all, which were advocated by all exponents of developmental democracy, he argued for replacing the Board of Education with a powerful and comprehensive Ministry of Education. In pursuit of equality and social unity, he called for the integration of the public schools and elementary schools into a national secondary education system. Based on his conception of free personality and his organic interpretation of equality, which embodied Green's ideals of developmental democracy, Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function, as well as Lindsay's Christian concept of equality, Clarke emphasized the importance of selection and differentiation in secondary education. On the grounds of his conception of freedom and discipline, and his ideas about the functions of the State, especially the securing of a necessary minimum of education for all, which was also supported by formulators of developmental democracy, he urged the provision of compulsory part-time continued education up to the age of 18. In addition, in accordance with his ideas of democratic education, that is, the integration of culture and vocation, he criticized

²²¹ William Temple, *Christianity and Social Order* (London: SCM Press, 1942), 73.

the name of the technical high school and suggested the abandonment of the term 'technical' at the secondary stage. Aside from this, as a member of the McNair Committee, he urged a reform of teacher education for the establishment of more organic relationships between universities and training colleges. He also promoted the extension of education to adult years and the age group of 2-5. Moreover, the success of these reform proposals, Clarke emphasized, must rely on some preconditions, such as change in social attitudes and habits, the adaptation of tradition in terms of rational criteria, and, above all, the formation of a common purpose based on a Christian social and educational philosophy.

On the other hand, Clarke's involvement in public debate was primarily through three key approaches. First, for guiding public opinion, he promoted his ideas through print-media like journals and newspapers, and through lectures and speeches to students, teachers, and the public at schools, universities, and conferences. In fact, his actions or activities for educating and arousing public opinion reflected his stress on the value of public opinion in checking the State, which, as mentioned before, was also a key feature of the ideals of developmental democracy. Second, in exerting his influence on cultural élites, Clarke joined constantly private discussions of reform proposals in two influential discussion groups, that is, the All Souls Group and the Moot. Last, he made an attempt to communicate his ideas to policy-makers like Butler and key figures in the reform like Tawney and Faber through memoranda, private meetings, and personal correspondence.

Ch6 A New Deal in Education: 1943-1944

On 16 July 1943, the Board of Education issued the White Paper, *Educational Reconstruction*. Five months later, on 16 December 1943, the Education Bill was published. Eventually, the 1944 Education Act received Royal assent on 3 August 1944. In this chapter, Clarke's contribution to the process of the legislation, that is, from the publication of the White Paper to the passage of the Education Bill, will be illustrated. His support for the White Paper, his promotion of the Education Bill, as well as his interpretation of the 1944 Education Act and his dedication to publicizing it will be spelled out. Meanwhile, the extent to which his reform proposals were made provision by the 1944 Education Act will also be evaluated. Additionally, this chapter will include Clarke's comments on the Norwood Report on *Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools* (1943), the McNair Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (1944) and the Fleming Report on *The Public Schools and the General Educational System* (1944), which had an impact on the post-war educational provisions alongside the Act itself.

In general, from mid-1943 to 1944, Clarke contributed himself to the reform mainly through his influence on policy-makers, cultural élites, professional organizations, and public opinion. W. R. Niblett points out that Clarke showed 'his availability to those who formed the 1944 Education Act'.¹ The fact that he was consulted by Butler at every crucial moment of the process of the legislation proved this. In a speech shortly after Clarke's death in January 1952, Butler paid his tribute to Clarke and claimed that Clarke 'had advised him and helped him in drawing it

¹ W. Roy Niblett, Book Reviews on Mitchell's *Sir Fred Clarke*. Clarke papers, FC/1/4.

[the Act] up'.² Aside from this, Clarke continued his participation in the Moot and the McNair committee, and engaged in some professional organizations like the National Union of Teachers (NUT) and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education (ATCDE) in order to exert his influence on the officials of the Board of Education and the public indirectly. Above all, Niblett argues that Clarke's writings and public addresses 'did much to educate national opinion'.³ Indeed, compared to the period between 1940 and mid-1943, the frequency of Clarke's speeches increased remarkably in this period. He delivered at least 41 speeches within one and half a year (see Appendix 2). As shown in Figure 3, he travelled to at least 9 counties, which were primarily in south-east England, in particular London. In the Midlands, apart from the county of West Riding, he mainly gave his speeches in Nottingham. In total, from 1940 to 1944, 80 speeches were delivered by Clarke. As Barber vividly describes, 'educationalists like Fred Clarke spent many hours of their lives travelling through the blackout to speak' at 'a bewildering array of local, regional, and national meetings on the subject of reform'.⁴ Apart from delivering speeches, Clarke also tried to guide public opinion through writings and cooperative actions with other key figures in the reform.

² A note [no author, Edith Clarke?] [n.d.; 1952?]. Clarke papers, FC/5/7. See also R. A. Butler, 'The 1944 Act Seen Against the Pattern of the Times', in *Jubilee Lectures* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1952), 39-55 (p. 39).

³ Niblett, Book Reviews on Mitchell's *Sir Fred Clarke*. Clarke papers, FC/1/4.

⁴ Barber, *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*, 7-8.

Figure 3 Map of speeches of Fred Clarke (1943.07-1944)



6.1 The White Paper: An Agenda for Democratic Debate

On 16 July 1943, the Board of Education published the White Paper and presented it to the House of Commons. On the same day, Butler sent one copy of it

to Clarke 'without delay'.⁵ Two days later, Clarke replied to Butler and expressed his 'very warm congratulations' to him.⁶ Clarke stated that although he had not yet seen the White Paper itself, he could judge the scope and spirit of the document according to a summary of the White Paper given by the *Times*. For Clarke, the White Paper was 'a generous and courageous piece of planning'. Moreover, it showed 'comprehensiveness and sustained consistency of principle[s]', which was 'a new kind of thing in English educational documents'. However, he emphasized that the White Paper should simply be conceived as 'a liberal framework providing and calling for at least twenty years of hard work to give it adequate human content'.⁷ On the following day, Clarke received the copy and sent his support to Butler again. He pointed out to Butler that he was especially satisfied with the opening sentence of the White Paper:

The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described in this Paper is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are.⁸

Clarke felt that 'it does so exactly what it needed' in that 'it undercuts all the cloudy -isms and [-ocracies?] and plants the whole project on the firm ground of common human interest'.⁹ Apart from his correspondence with Butler, Clarke also

⁵ R. A. Butler to Fred Clarke, 16th July 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/33.

⁶ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 18th July 1943. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/409.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Board of Education, *Educational Reconstruction* (London: HMSO, 1943) (White Paper), 3.

⁹ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 19th July 1943. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/409.

made similar comments on the White Paper in his speeches. On 1 August 1943, he argued that the ‘central idea’ of the White Paper was the ‘freeing and universalizing of opportunity by opening up diverse paths of achievement for all’. Furthermore, he reminded the audience that it was just a ‘programme’, a ‘strategic plan’, and, above all, ‘a beginning, not an end’.¹⁰ Equally, in another speech, Clarke claimed that the White Paper, which was ‘summing up in form of a programme of results of nearly 20 years’ experiment[s] and discussion[s]’, was merely an ‘agenda for [a] “democratic” debate preliminary to action[s]’.¹¹ From this perspective, before the publication of the Education Bill, Clarke involved himself in the debate through his speeches, articles and discussions in the Moot, especially concentrating on the issues of secondary education and the public schools.

First of all, as far as secondary education was concerned, the White Paper suggested that ‘The period from 5 to the leaving age will be divided into two stages, the first, to be known as primary, covering the years up to about 11. After 11 secondary education, of diversified types but of equal standing, will be provided for all children.’¹² In Clarke’s view, this implied that ‘secondary [education] now [is] in its proper meaning’, namely ‘a necessary stage of education through which all pass’.¹³ In other words, this coincided with his reform proposal, universal secondary education, and his ideal of equality. On this account, Clarke proclaimed that a main task in the working-out of the White Paper was ‘organizing “secondary education for all”’.¹⁴ In respect of the school-leaving age, the White Paper proposed that ‘The

¹⁰ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹¹ Fred Clarke, ‘English Education’, Service Summer School, July-August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

¹² White Paper, 3.

¹³ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary: Old and New’, Shaddick Memorial, Shoreditch Training College, 27th October 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

period of compulsory school attendance will be extended to 15 without exemptions and with provision for its subsequent extension to 16 as soon as circumstances permit.¹⁵ This was in line with Clarke's position and thus he did not raise any issue about it. By contrast, Tawney continued to call for raising the school-leaving age to 16.¹⁶ As for the fees of secondary education, the White Paper claimed that 'the prohibition of fees will be extended to all secondary schools for the maintenance of which the Local Education Authorities are responsible'.¹⁷ However, the problem of whether or not the fees of the direct grant schools should be abolished was postponed until the Fleming Committee published its report.¹⁸

In fact, on 7 November 1942, Butler wrote to Fleming, the Chairman of the Fleming Committee, and asked for a special report on the question of the abolition of tuition fees in grant-aided secondary schools since a number of such schools were the public schools as defined in the Fleming Committee's terms of reference.¹⁹ In April 1943, the special report was delivered to the Government and recommended by a slim majority the abolition of fees in direct grant schools.²⁰ However, although Butler sympathized with the idea of abolishing fees in these schools, he faced opposition from many Tory MPs and the members of the Conservative Party's Education Committee, who were worried that the independence of these schools would be endangered if their right to charge fees was abolished.²¹ Hence, in the

¹⁵ White Paper, 3.

¹⁶ Gary McCulloch, 'Educating the Public: Tawney, the Manchester Guardian and Educational Reform', in *In History and In Education: Essays Presented to Peter Gordon*, ed. R. Aldrich (London: The Woburn Press, 1996), 116-137 (p. 132).

¹⁷ White Paper, 11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹ Gosden, *Education in the Second World War*, 351.

²⁰ Hillman, 'Public Schools and the Fleming Report of 1944: Shunting the First-class Carriage on to an Immense Siding?', 241.

²¹ Barber, *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*, 52; Dean, 'Problems of the Conservative Sub-Committee on Education 1941-1945', 34.

White Paper, as mentioned above, the decision on the future of the direct grant schools was postponed pending the publication of the Fleming Report. This strategy was approved by Clarke. In his letter to Butler, he uttered that ‘It seems wise to leave over the Direct Grant Schools for the moment.’²² Nevertheless, he advised Butler that ‘They may have a useful function of “linkage” to discharge in any settlement with the independent schools.’²³ On the contrary, Tawney, who championed strongly the idea of free secondary education for all, was not content with this and sought to make sure the abolition of fees in all state-aided (including direct grant) secondary schools.²⁴

With regard to the organization of secondary education, like the Spens Report, which suggested three types of secondary school, the White Paper also clearly proposed a tripartite system of secondary education.²⁵ It set forth ‘three main types of secondary schools’, that is, ‘grammar, modern, and technical schools’.²⁶ This was also echoed by the Norwood Committee, which was appointed in October 1941 in order to ‘consider suggested changes in the Secondary School curriculum and the question of School Examinations in relation thereto’.²⁷ The Committee, under the chairmanship of Cyril Norwood, published its report on *Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools* ten days after the publication of the White Paper.²⁸ The Norwood Report argued that three groups of pupils, with three types of mind, had established themselves in ‘general educational experience’. The first type

²² Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 18th July 1943. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/409.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ McCulloch, ‘Educating the Public: Tawney, the Manchester Guardian and Educational Reform’, 132.

²⁵ Spens Report, 377.

²⁶ White Paper, 10.

²⁷ Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools* (London: HMSO, 1943) (Norwood Report), iv-v.

²⁸ McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction*, 27.

of pupil was ‘interested in learning for its own sake’, and ‘can grasp an argument or follow a piece of connected reasoning’. Such pupils, the Report indicated, ‘have entered the learned professions or have taken up higher administrative or business posts’.²⁹ The interests and abilities of the second type of pupil ‘lie markedly in the field of applied science or applied art’. The pupil ‘often has an uncanny insight into the intricacies of mechanism’ and thus ‘the knowledge and its application which most appeal to him are concerned with the control of material things’. Pupils in this type usually took up ‘certain crafts—engineering, agriculture and the like’.³⁰ The third type of pupil ‘deals more easily with concrete things than with ideas’. Therefore, ‘relevance to present concerns is the only way of awakening interest’. Moreover, ‘his movement is generally slow, though it may be surprisingly rapid in seizing a particular point or in taking up a special line’.³¹

Corresponding to the three main types of mind, the Norwood Report suggested three main types of curriculum. The first type of curriculum ‘treats the various fields of knowledge as suitable for coherent and systematic study for their own sake’.³² The second type of curriculum would be ‘directed to the special data and skills associated with a particular kind of occupation’ and thus ‘closely related to industry, trades and commerce in all their diversity’.³³ The third type of curriculum would provide ‘a balanced training of mind and body and a correlated approach to humanities, Natural Science and the arts’ since its purpose was not to ‘prepare for a particular job or profession’. Moreover, its treatment would ‘make a direct appeal to

²⁹ Norwood Report, 2.

³⁰ Ibid., 3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 4.

³³ Ibid.

interests' through offering 'practical touch with affairs'.³⁴ After defining three types of mind and curriculum, the Report advocated that 'there should be three types of education', that is, 'the secondary Grammar', 'the secondary Technical', and 'the secondary Modern'.³⁵ It emphasized that each type of school should 'have such parity as amenities and conditions can bestow'. However, 'parity of esteem', it added, 'can only be won by the school itself'.³⁶

As mentioned in chapter 5, before mid-1943, both separate secondary schools and the multilateral school were acceptable options for Clarke. Thus, shortly after the publication of the White Paper and the Norwood Report, Clarke did not oppose the tripartite system proposed by them. In a speech on 1 August 1943, he agreed on 'three main forms' of secondary education, though he remained full of 'misgiving' about the term 'technical' because it was inconsistent with the idea of the integration of the cultural and the vocational. Furthermore, to his mind, the Norwood Report was 'excellent on exams and school organization'.³⁷ Nevertheless, in October 1943, he seemed to become doubtful about the tripartite system and turned to support the multilateral school. On 23 October 1943, he made a speech in a grammar school. He highlighted that apart from the 'traditional type of thoroughbred obviously for Grammar School', 'standards of excellence in different types' should be defined so that wastage could be ended. In effect, in this respect, Clarke shared the argument of the Education Committee of the Christian Auxiliary Movement that 'the stress on academic leadership in schools is quite false' since 'much practical leadership is wasted'.³⁸ Moreover, he argued that 'the relation [of the Grammar School] to other

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 14.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

³⁸ Marjorie Reeves and John Drewett, *What is Christian Education: A Piece of Group Thinking*

types [is] still to be worked out'. Despite this, at the end of the speech, he expressed his 'doubts about "trinity" and "technical"'.³⁹ Few days after, he delivered another speech on the subject of secondary education.⁴⁰ Similarly, for the purpose of 'reasonable parity of types', Clarke also argued for 'defining and establishing equivalent standards in "new" types'. In this sense, he recommended 'Sixth forms for [the] Modern School'.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he noticed the facts that there was an 'illiberal and depreciating flavour of [the] "technical" [school]' and that the Modern School was perceived as a 'dump', which were against his ideal of equality. Under these circumstances, he started to pay attention to the multilateral school since it can provide 'flexibility and facility of transfer'.⁴²

Indeed, as Clarke noted in one of his speeches, the 'transformation of senior school[s]' was 'the great but unappreciated problem' given the 'vast gulf between historical background and social relation of "elementary" and "secondary"'.⁴³ Perhaps due to the increasing doubts about the tripartite system, in November 1943, although Clarke continued to suggest 'standards of different forms of "excellence"' and 'sixth forms for [the] Modern School', he publicly urged English people to 'experiment with [the] multilateral [school]'.⁴⁴ Clarke's doubts about the tripartite system and his support for the multilateral school were more evident in his article published in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology*.⁴⁵ In it, Clarke stated

(London: The Sheldon Press, 1942), 18. Clarke's library, Newsam Library.

³⁹ Fred Clarke, Opening of Percy Jackson Grammar School, Adwick-le-Street, 23rd October 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁴⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Secondary: Old and New', Shaddick Memorial, Shoreditch Training College, 27th October 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Fred Clarke, 'English Education System: Secondary Education', King's, 11th November 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁴⁴ Fred Clarke, Brighton, 25th November 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁴⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Research in the New Setting', *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 14, Part I, February 1944, 1-6. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

that Cyril Burt's article, 'Education of the Young Adolescent', helped 'increase one's doubts of the soundness of the White Paper plan of a definitive tripartite allocation of young adolescents for post-primary education'.⁴⁶ In his article, Burt argued that 'any scheme of organization which proposes to classify children at the age of eleven or twelve according to qualitative mental types rather than according to general intelligence is in conflict with the known facts of child psychology'.⁴⁷ Accepting the force of Burt's argument, Clarke claimed that 'the case for the multilateral school gains in strength as we penetrate deeper into the implications of secondary education for all'.⁴⁸ This statement revealed that, by the end of 1943, the multilateral school appeared to be preferable to a tripartite system for Clarke.

With regard to the age and techniques of selection, the White Paper suggested that 'children at the age of about 11 should be classified, not on the results of a competitive test, but on an assessment of their individual aptitudes largely by such means as school records, supplemented, if necessary, by intelligence tests, due regard being had to their parents' wishes and the careers they have in mind'.⁴⁹ Equally, the Norwood Report proposed that 'at the age of 11-plus... a child would pass into one of the three types of secondary education'.⁵⁰ However, from 11-plus to 13-plus, which the Report called the 'Lower School', pupils at the three types of school would be provided 'generally common curriculum'. After the first two years, 'a review of all pupils' would be made.⁵¹ Furthermore, the Norwood Report emphasized the importance of 'school records' and thus it maintained that

⁴⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁷ Cyril Burt, 'The Education of the Young Adolescent: The Psychological Implications of the Norwood Report', *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol.8, Part III, November 1943, 126-140 (p. 140).

⁴⁸ Clarke, 'Educational Research in the New Setting', 6.

⁴⁹ White Paper, 9.

⁵⁰ Norwood Report, 15.

⁵¹ Ibid.

‘differentiation for types of secondary education should depend upon the judgment of the teachers in the primary school, supplemented, if desired, by intelligence and other tests’.⁵²

In opposition to the idea of allocating pupils to different types of secondary education at 11-plus, Clarke called for a ‘critical stage (11-13)’, that is, a ‘special “observation” period’.⁵³ Despite this, he agreed with the White Paper and the Norwood Report on the use of record cards.⁵⁴ Therefore, he stressed the importance of investigating the forms of record cards, which ‘will have its effect upon the whole future structure of English society’.⁵⁵ In effect, in January 1943, on the initiative of Clarke and Philip Hartog, former Director of the English section of the Carnegie International Examinations Enquiry, a meeting was held in London to discuss the possibility of establishing a body on a national basis to promote and coordinate educational research in Britain. Following this meeting, ‘Foundation for Educational Research’ was set up. It held its first meeting to consider plans for immediate research in November 1943. Its initial project was precisely ‘an investigation into methods for classifying and allocating children from primary to secondary education’.⁵⁶ That is to say, the first task for the Foundation was to ‘go into the question of working out adequate instruments of diagnosis, including the formulation and use of a suitable form of school record’.⁵⁷

⁵² Ibid., 17.

⁵³ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary: Old and New’, Shaddick Memorial, Shoreditch Training College, 27th October 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁵⁴ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, Brighton, 25th November 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁵⁵ Clarke, ‘Educational Research in the New Setting’, 4.

⁵⁶ Anonymous, ‘Research in Education’, *Times*, 4th December 1943.

⁵⁷ Clarke, ‘Educational Research in the New Setting’, 6.

As far as the curriculum of secondary education was concerned, shortly after the publication of the Norwood Report, Clarke expressed his dissatisfaction with it in his letter to Butler. He noted that ‘As a scheme for the reform of examinations, [the report is] excellent; as a guide to the problems of the curriculum, [it is] well-nigh worthless.’⁵⁸ As McCulloch indicates, there was some pressure on Norwood not to widen the focus of the report by examining the future prospects of the technical and modern schools or by dealing with the problems of the public schools.⁵⁹ Therefore, the Norwood Report made it clear that ‘with Junior Technical Schools and with Senior Schools we are not specifically concerned’. ‘The question which concerns us’, it continued, ‘is whether, even amid the variety offered by Secondary Schools [Grammar Schools], the curriculum is really suited to all the pupils in them.’⁶⁰ Based on this, although the Report provided an outline of curriculum at three types of secondary school, it laid its emphasis on Grammar School curriculum.⁶¹ In the Lower School of the Grammar School, that is, at the ages of 11-13, the Report argued that traditional subjects like Physical Education, Religious Instruction, English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Science, Art, Handicrafts, Music and one or two foreign languages should be included in curriculum.⁶² On the other hand, in the higher forms of the Grammar School, namely at the ages of 13-16, same subjects were provided but in the years of 14-plus and 15-plus, there should be differentiation following two main lines of interest, ‘humanities’ and ‘Natural Science and Mathematics’. However, such differentiation, the Report stressed, ‘is probably best shown in increased emphasis on suitable

⁵⁸ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 31st July 1943. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/450.

⁵⁹ McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings*, 57.

⁶⁰ Norwood Report, 5-6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4, 20-21.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 71.

subjects rather than in widely different choice of subjects'.⁶³

Since the Norwood Report only dealt with Grammar School curriculum, in his speech, Clarke criticized it for being 'limited'. He claimed that it was 'seriously lacking in pointed and concrete guidance on curricula in contemporary situation' as there was 'no serious attempt to relate curriculum to activities and prospects of contemporary situation'.⁶⁴ Moreover, in one article entitled 'Insularity in Education', Clarke called for 'de-insularising' the tradition in the Norwood Report 'by the application of more universal criteria'.⁶⁵ As he pointed out in his letter, 'The thing is just clogged up with typical public-school woolliness, and all English provincialism of the blindest sort.' 'People like Norwood', he went on to condemn, 'imagine themselves to be talking principles when what is really moving them is just uncritical insular prejudice, and class-prejudice at that.'⁶⁶ Because the Norwood Report could not meet his ideal of universal secondary education, Clarke urged English people to drop the obscuring technicality, 'secondary curriculum', and think in terms of the question: 'what are we going to teach our growing boys and girls in the critical years of adolescence?'⁶⁷ Equally, in another speech, he argued that there ought to be 'new adventurousness and care for relevancy in curriculum', which would require a 'pointed and prolonged enquiry into content'. This, he believed, was what the Norwood Committee failed to do.⁶⁸ Clarke maintained that the Norwood Report offered 'little or no help' in arriving at 'a scientific well-considered basis for the choice of material for the education of the adolescent'. This would rely on a

⁶³ Ibid., 72-74.

⁶⁴ Fred Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

⁶⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Insularity in Education', *Spectator*, 171, 166-167 (p. 166). 20th August 1943.

⁶⁶ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 21st August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

⁶⁷ Clarke, 'Insularity in Education', 166.

⁶⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Secondary: Old and New', Shaddick Memorial, Shoreditch Training College, 27th October 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

‘wide-ranging enquiry and experiment by many agencies that will take years to carry through’.⁶⁹

As illustrated above, Clarke was supportive of the provisions put forward by the White Paper except for the age of selection and the tripartite system in the field of secondary education. Nevertheless, he emphasized that merely the White Paper itself could not guarantee a democratic education. At a meeting of the Moot, he argued that ‘Without deeper changes than were proposed we should not escape from the entrenched position of the Public Schools and the Elementary School dump.’⁷⁰ In his article, ‘The Headmasters’ Conference: An Appeal’, Clarke also claimed that:

...no prospect of a satisfying reform of English Education is likely to be fulfilled without some far-reaching changes in prevailing social and intellectual attitudes. We shall need, of course, the expanded and reconstituted framework which the White Paper has described. But that framework will remain a relatively unproductive machine unless the changes of which I speak take effect.⁷¹

In reality, there were no provisions about the Public Schools in the White Paper. Consequently, Clarke continued to call for a change in social and intellectual attitudes towards these schools. Clarke’s view was also shared by Dent. Although Dent recognized the merits of the White Paper, he deemed it merely as ‘a framework within which it is possible to create an enlightened and genuinely democratic

⁶⁹ Clarke, ‘Educational Research in the New Setting’, 4.

⁷⁰ Notes on Discussion at the 18th Meeting of the Moot, 29th October - 1st November 1943. Oldham papers, University of Edinburgh Archives, 13/3/22. (One copy of this was donated by William Taylor to the IOE Archives).

⁷¹ Fred Clarke, ‘The Headmasters’ Conference: An Appeal’, *The Journal of Education*, December 1943, 545-547 (p. 545). Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

national system of education'.⁷² He maintained that there were gaps in this framework which needed to be filled in. One of them was 'the relationship of the public schools and the grant-aided secondary schools', which was 'left over until such time as the Fleming Committee has reported'.⁷³

Furthermore, Clarke criticized the pamphlet, *Public Schools and the Future*, which was issued by the Headmasters' Conference, for its failure of grasping the principle that purely educational values in the public schools should not be exclusive. He argued again that 'a broadening of the basis of recruitment which would involve in effect that the public schools opened their doors to a number of holders of "special places"' did not touch the real problem.⁷⁴ Moreover, by indicating that it was the action of the State that had ensured 'the educational benefits and opportunities' for the mass of the English people, Clarke objected to the claim of the pamphlet that 'the liberty and diversity which have always been the main strength of English education cannot long be maintained in schools which are financially controlled by the State'. As he explained, it was not a matter of choice between 'thoroughgoing anti-State' and 'bureaucratic all-State', but a matter of 'determining the nature and extent of the State's partnership in the community enterprise that is education'.⁷⁵ This featured Clarke's ideas of democracy, especially in relation to the functions of the State in education, which were also promoted by exponents of developmental democracy. At the end of this article, he made an appeal to the defenders of the 'independent' system. He argued that they should put forward 'the considered statement of a policy for English education on a whole, indicating fully

⁷² H. C. Dent, *Education in Transition: A Sociological Study of the Impact of War on English Education 1939-1943* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1944), 226.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Clarke, 'The Headmasters' Conference: An Appeal', 545.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 546.

what part the public schools were prepared to play, not on a corner of the state but in full participation with the whole enterprise'.⁷⁶ As noted in chapter 5, for the purpose of equality and social unity, Clarke hoped to bring the public schools into a national education system.

6.2 The Education Bill: A Great Opportunity

On 16 December 1943, the day when the Bill was published, Butler also sent copies of the Education Bill and the Explanatory Memorandum to Clarke and noted that 'I shall look forward to hearing what you think of the Bill.'⁷⁷ On the following day, an article Clarke wrote before the publication of the Bill appeared in the *Spectator*. In this article, Clarke delivered his warm support for the Bill, which, for him, was 'well thought-out and generously handled by Parliament to provide an adequate statutory framework within which all that is necessary can be done'.⁷⁸ More important, for promoting the passage of the Bill, he emphasized that 'effective partnership between Parliament and the other agencies' such as administrative services, teachers and trained professional officers, voluntary organizations, and the nation as a whole, was 'the essence of the undertaking'.⁷⁹ As Clarke indicated in his note, the success of the Bill required 'administrators and teachers' and, above all, the 'driving power of enlightened public opinion'.⁸⁰ This chimed with his continuous emphasis on public opinion in a democracy, which was also advocated by Lindsay. Apart from arousing public opinion, Clarke also expressed his concern that, in this course, 'the legislative part of the plan may become distorted by compromises which

⁷⁶ Ibid., 547.

⁷⁷ R. A. Butler to Fred Clarke, 16th December 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/33.

⁷⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Mr. Butler's Bill', *Spectator*, 171, 570-571 (p. 570). 17th December 1943.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Education Bill', [n.d.; 1943?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

though unsound educationally and not arising from genuine educational motives, have to be made for political reasons'.⁸¹ Even if he was very confident with Butler, who had shown 'infinite patience and skill in the difficult and tricky preliminaries', he was afraid that 'on such questions as the reorganizing of local authorities, the dual system, and the place of the public schools, there may arise strong temptation...to allow party feeling or a nervous sense of sectional interest to corrupt the founts of pure educational zeal'. To his mind, the most important part of this Bill was 'the plan for more generous, more equalized, better appointed, and well-differentiated provision for the education of adolescents from the age of eleven or twelve up to eighteen'. He highlighted that 'it is the strategic core of the whole structure that must at all costs be preserved intact'.⁸² Admittedly, Clarke affirmed the publication of the Bill and Butler's efforts in it, but he also reminded the public, perhaps including Butler, of the difficulties and challenges ahead.

One month later, Clarke's other article, 'A New Deal in Education', was published. In this article, Clarke provided the public with 'a lucid account of the Bill's governing principles, its place and significance in order to guide public opinion to help push through the Bill'.⁸³ To begin with, he extolled the Bill as 'a New Deal' since 'it ends an epoch lasting more than a century and opens a new one'.⁸⁴ Following this, he pointed out three dominant notes of the Bill for which he apparently gave his approval. The first note was 'Authority', which was embodied in the first clause. By this clause, a Ministry was to be set up and the Minister was to

⁸¹ Clarke, 'Mr. Butler's Bill', 570.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Fred Clarke, 'A New Deal in Education', *Christian News-Letter*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 11-16, January 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 11.

promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area.⁸⁵

In fact, this precisely responded to Clarke's reform proposal, namely the substitution of the Ministry of Education for the Board of Education. Furthermore, in order to balance this authority, two Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales were also to be established. According to clause 4, their function was to 'advise the Minister upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit, and upon any questions referred to them by him'.⁸⁶ Clearly, Clarke was pleased with these changes. He stated that 'All this seems excellent; the extension of authority is balanced by a widening of the scope within which advice can be freely tendered.'⁸⁷ As for the extension of authority, he agreed on this in that authority would be needed to secure equality of opportunity.⁸⁸ This reflected one of the key themes of developmental democracy, that is, the necessity of the extension of the State's power in order to guarantee equality of educational opportunity for all, which was manifest in Clarke's ideas about the functions of the State in education. Moreover, he reminded the public that although 'more can be done now by administrative act', there emerged 'new importance of enlightened and vigorous professional and popular organizations'.⁸⁹ According to Clarke's ideas of

⁸⁵ Board of Education, *A Bill to Reform the Law Relating to Education in England & Wales 1943* (London: HMSO, 1943), 1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁷ Clarke, 'A New Deal in Education', 12.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁸⁹ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943—August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

democracy, although the powerful central authority was needed to guarantee equality of educational opportunity, it should always be checked by enlightened public opinion and voluntary organizations, which embodied the ideals of developmental democracy, especially those of Bosanquet and Lindsay.

The second note of the Bill was 'Order', which was manifest in clause 7. This clause indicated that 'The statutory system of public education shall be organized in three progressive stages to be known as primary education, secondary education and further education'.⁹⁰ Clarke described it as a 'truly revolutionary declaration', since 'institutions, stages and processes are henceforth to be called by their logical place in a coherent system', which meant that 'all that illogical and confused nomenclature, so expressive of the inherited prejudices and cleavages of a social history...is swept away'. Also, terms like 'elementary', 'senior', 'central', 'provided and non-provided' disappeared.⁹¹ As he expounded in his speech, 'rational-democratic criteria [are] applied to product[s] of history'.⁹² The third note of the Bill was 'Comprehensiveness', which, for Clarke, expressed itself in the general structure and arrangement of the Bill as 'every aspect of the educational service is covered, each type of institution is provided for, and the appropriate administrative powers and duties are clearly defined'.⁹³ Indeed, Clarke stressed that the idea of an educative society was immanent in the Bill since the scope of education 'extends far beyond routine of schooling', including the provision of youth service and adult education.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Board of Education, *A Bill to Reform the Law Relating to Education in England & Wales 1943*, 4.

⁹¹ Clarke, 'A New Deal in Education', 13.

⁹² Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943—August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

⁹³ Clarke, 'A New Deal in Education', 14.

⁹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943—August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

In fact, Clarke deemed the Bill very promising in that it displayed greater equalization of opportunity and ‘does offer the chance of national unity at a new and higher level’.⁹⁵ In other words, the Bill generally conformed to his ideas of democracy. Despite this, he claimed that there were still two unresolved products of history. One was the ‘dual system’, that is, the co-existence of the Church-provided schools and the state-provided schools. Butler and his colleagues had been negotiating with the Churches and arrived at a compromise. The churches allowed some of their schools to become nondenominational in exchange for financial support of the rest and an agreed minimum of Christian instruction in all schools.⁹⁶ It seemed acceptable for Clarke and thus he hoped that ‘the carefully balanced compromise...will be left undisturbed’.⁹⁷ The other was ‘the public schools’. In the Bill, the public schools remained as ‘independent’ and nothing significant appeared except for a clause about compulsory registration (clause 66).⁹⁸ In this regard, Clarke stated that ‘Of the public school question we can only say that it is not yet ripe for settlement, particularly as the Fleming Committee has yet to report.’⁹⁹ Due to a deep belief in democracy, he insisted that ‘In any case, it may be much better to delay a settlement rather than adopt one which is forced and premature.’¹⁰⁰ Like Clarke, Dent also claimed that ‘perhaps the better attitude to take would be that solution of this intricate problem is nearly held in abeyance pending the final report of the Fleming Committee’.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, it does not mean that Clarke stopped

⁹⁵ Clarke, ‘A New Deal in Education’, 16.

⁹⁶ Deborah Thom, ‘The 1944 Education Act: the “Art of the Possible?”’, in *War and Social Change*, ed. H. L. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 101-128 (p. 115). See also Board of Education, *A Bill to Reform the Law Relating to Education in England & Wales 1943*, 11, 19.

⁹⁷ Clarke, ‘A New Deal in Education’, 14.

⁹⁸ Board of Education, *A Bill to Reform the Law Relating to Education in England & Wales 1943*, 66-71.

⁹⁹ Clarke, ‘A New Deal in Education’, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ H. C. Dent, ‘The Educational Bill’, *Fortnightly*, January 1944, 10-16 (p. 13).

raising the issue of the public schools. On the contrary, he continued to press for reform in his speeches and articles. As he put it, 'No firm agreement could be reached until the Fleming Report is available. But the preliminaries should not wait for that.'¹⁰²

Indeed, as he did before the publication of the Bill, Clarke stressed repeatedly the importance of change in social attitudes and habits for the success of educational reform, and often related it to the issue of the public schools. For example, Clarke argued that 'The all-essential need is [the] adaptation of dominant social attitudes to the assumptions upon which the Act proceeds.' In this respect, he emphasized, the reform of the public schools represented 'hope here'.¹⁰³ Similarly, in an article in the *Nature*, although Clarke described the Bill as 'revolutionary', he maintained that 'The Bill at its best, even when it has become an Act, offers no more than a great opportunity. We still have to...subordinate the lesser to the larger interests if we are to make full and fruitful use of the instruments it places in our hands.'¹⁰⁴ This was also reiterated by Clarke in his article in the *Time and Tide*. He reminded English people that 'It may be too much to hope that the legislation of 1944 will afford the means of overcoming the divisions and conflicts which for over a century now have prevented national unity from finding expression in national education.'¹⁰⁵ He argued that although the Bill 'remarks the end of the long "elementary school" epoch', in view of the fact that the question of the public schools remained unresolved, the key factor for revolution did not lie in what Parliament might do, but

¹⁰² 'Correspondence' (Fred Clarke's reply to the letter of Spencer Leeson, Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference). *The Journal of Education*, February 1944, 76.

¹⁰³ Fred Clarke, 'Prospects and Possibilities of the Education Act', Thirty Club, 23rd January 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, 'A Turning Point in Education', *Nature*, Vol. 153, 12th February 1944, 177-178 (p. 178).

¹⁰⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Notes on the Way (I)', *Time and Tide*, Vol. 25, No. 9, 26th February 1944, 172-173 (p. 172). Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

in 'the region of social attitudes and habits'.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, despite Clarke's persistent dedication to this issue, when the Fleming Committee finally published its report on 26 July 1944, the Bill had been given its third reading, and literally only a week or so before the Act received Royal Assent (3 August 1944).¹⁰⁷ Undoubtedly, it was too late to add any vital reform about the public schools to the Act.

Aside from the public schools, Clarke continued to debate various issues of secondary education. In the first place, unlike Tawney, who sought further reform about raising the school-leaving age up to 16 and free secondary education for all, Clarke launched an attack on the tripartite system.¹⁰⁸ In another article in the *Time and Tide*, Clarke indicated that the three types of secondary school proposed by the Spens Report, the Norwood Report, and the White Paper were 'the administrative accidents'.¹⁰⁹ The grammar school descended from the existing secondary schools. The technical school developed from the junior technical school. The modern school was only the existing senior elementary school. Since 'three types have wholly different historical origins, each carries the peculiar aroma of its social affiliations and of the administrative tradition (elementary or secondary) which shaped it', Clarke believed, it would be naïve to talk of 'parity of esteem'.¹¹⁰ In addition, he also criticized the White Paper and the Norwood Report for regarding 'historical accidents as educational principles'.¹¹¹ For him, the 'trinity' was 'obviously a

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 173.

¹⁰⁷ Brian Simon, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Conservative measure?', *History of Education*, 15/1 (1986), 31-43 (p. 41).

¹⁰⁸ R. H. Tawney to R. A. Butler, 21st December 1943. Butler papers, Conservative Party Archives, RAB/2/3.

¹⁰⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Notes on the Way (II)', *Time and Tide*, Vol. 25, No. 10, 4th March 1944, 193-194 (p. 193). Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943-August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

rationalization of the diverse administrative accidents'.¹¹² Hence, in his speech, instead of promoting a tripartite system, Clarke suggested that 'any classification at this stage' be 'provisional'. Moreover, he called for a 'try-out of [the] large multilateral [school]' and a 'try-out of [the] "federal" plan in populous areas', namely the grouping of different types of secondary school within the tripartite system on one large site.¹¹³ At the end of this speech, he concluded that 'Any hard and fast organization [is] wrong at this stage.'¹¹⁴

Additionally, Clarke's criticism of the tripartite system was also conveyed to the officials through the NUT. In October 1943, Clarke resumed his membership of the NUT since he realized 'the need to achieve a genuine unity in the teaching profession in this country' and he was aware that 'the NUT is the only organization which one can join purely on the grounds of being a teacher whatever brand of teacher one may be'.¹¹⁵ In December 1943, the NUT was asked to submit its views on the Norwood Report to the Secondary School Examinations Council by 31 March 1944.¹¹⁶ On 12 February 1944, Clarke joined the discussion on the Norwood Report at a meeting of a subcommittee of the NUT, the special committee on secondary grammar, training college and university education. At this meeting, Clarke moved as follows:

¹¹² Fred Clarke, 'Reorganization of Secondary Education', N. U. T. (Ware), 2nd March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹¹³ Ibid. See also B. D. Robinson, 'Campus Schemes of Secondary Education in England and Wales, 1952-82', *History of Education*, 25/4 (1996), 387-400 (p. 388).

¹¹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Reorganization of Secondary Education', N. U. T. (Ware), 2nd March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹¹⁵ Fred Clarke to the Secretary of London Teachers Association, N. U. T., 14th October 1943. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/4.

¹¹⁶ Minutes of the First Meeting of the Special Committee on Secondary, Grammar School, Training College and University Education, 18th December 1943. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/4.

That in view of the need for large-scale and prolonged experiment, any classification of secondary schools into types that may be found necessary should be regarded as provisional at this stage and in all working of the new order in secondary education the maximum degree of fluidity should be preserved.¹¹⁷

This motion was seconded by one member of this committee. Furthermore, Clarke accepted the following addendum at the end of his amendment: 'that any fixed classification of secondary education at this stage into three types as envisaged in the Norwood Report is to be condemned and is contradictory to the spirit of this resolution'.¹¹⁸ In the end, Clarke's proposal and the addendum were both included in the memorandum submitted by the NUT to the Board of Education.¹¹⁹ More important, in his correspondence with Butler, Clarke also mentioned his concern about the tripartite system. He advised Butler that:

I find on all sides feel apprehension over the possible clamping down of a rigid classification right at the outset...Some working classification we must have but most people would wish it to be quite provisional. Personally I should trust much to the creative vitality of the new order you are setting up.¹²⁰

Clearly, Clarke once made an attempt to influence Butler in order to prevent him from putting the tripartite system into the new Act.

¹¹⁷ Minutes of the second meeting of the special committee on secondary grammar, training college and university education. 11th and 12th February 1944. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/4.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Memorandum by the Executive of the Union on the Report of the Norwood Committee on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, 3rd June 1944. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/12/480.

¹²⁰ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 7th March 1944. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/457.

In terms of the age and techniques of selection, Clarke had a feeling that there was a need to 'fight' for the principle that 'no professional segregation [should be carried out] until [an] appropriate stage'.¹²¹ In accordance with his earlier proposals, he urged 'prolonged and comprehensive research' on the 'form and use of record card[s]' and the 'best use of [the] 11-13 period'.¹²² As for the curriculum of secondary education, Clarke suggested 'much work on [working out] curricula of every kind'.¹²³ Moreover, he called for 'systematic research [on curriculum] for right handling of [pupils with] average and lower intelligences'.¹²⁴ Despite the fact that Clarke also argued for a 'broadly common curriculum for 11-13', which was proposed by the Norwood Report, he criticized the Report for being 'penetrated with traditional atmospheres' and showing 'no straight, sustained, [and] unpedagogic scanning of the present and the probable world'.¹²⁵ Also, in the Norwood Report, subjects were 'still the effective centers', which was opposed by Clarke.¹²⁶ Clarke argued that curriculum, mediating and unifying 'cultural order' and 'functionary subject', should be 'a programme of activities', which was 'not [the] same as "subjects"'.¹²⁷ On this account, he suggested a curriculum of 'emancipation from "subjects"'.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943-August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹²² Fred Clarke, 'Reorganization of Secondary Education', N. U. T. (Ware), 2nd March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, 'Educational Research', A. A. M., 25th March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

¹²³ Fred Clarke, 'Reorganization of Secondary Education', N. U. T. (Ware), 2nd March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943-August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Fred Clarke, Nottingham, 19th February 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹²⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education', Bingley Vacation Course, [n.d.; December 1943-August 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹²⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Research', A. A. M., 25th March 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

Apart from secondary education, Clarke was also concerned about the development of adult education. In January 1944, one short statement signed by Clarke, W. Cantuar (William Temple), W. H. Beveridge, and R. W. Livingstone was published in the *Times*.¹²⁹ This statement entitled 'The Need for Adult Education: New Bill Welcomed' was a result of a conference at Oxford for consideration of adult education. In the statement, they claimed that 'We whole-heartedly welcome the comprehensiveness of the Bill, and desire to support the President by creating a strong body of public opinion eager to ensure a great development of adult education as an indispensable element of national reconstruction.'¹³⁰ Furthermore, they planned to convene 'a further conference with representatives of still wider interests' to 'consider the practical steps needed to further the aims set out above'.¹³¹ In the light of this, it can be argued that Clarke devoted himself to the passage of the Bill not only through his own speeches and writings but also through cooperative actions like publishing statements and convening conferences to arouse and gather public opinion.

Last, although teacher education was not included in the Bill, the issue of teacher education became a focal point in Clarke's discussions. In this period, Clarke still sat on the McNair Committee and was involved in promoting the establishment of a School of Education in each university. In April 1944, in a speech entitled 'The University and the Teaching Profession', he argued that 'What is needed now...is a more full and frank recognition that this duty [of teacher education] is central to the University's function, and sometimes almost necessary to its very existence.'¹³² On

¹²⁹ W. Cantuar (William Temple), W. H. Beveridge, Fred Clarke and R. W. Livingstone, 'The Need For Adult Education: New Bill Welcomed', *Times*, 15th January 1944.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Fred Clarke, 'The University and the Teaching Profession', Association of University Professors

the other hand, he maintained that universities not be called upon to adapt their curricula since intending teachers would need 'a general form of educational provision'.¹³³ In May 1944, the McNair Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders* was finally published. Due to the division of opinions in the committee, in the end, the committee put forward two alternative schemes, that is, Scheme A, the University Schools of Education Scheme, and Scheme B, the Joint Board Scheme. The former, supported by Clarke, Sir Frederick Mander, P. R. Morris, B. B. Thomas, and S. H. Wood (Secretary of the Teaching Training Branch), proposed that 'each university should establish a School of Education', which should be responsible for 'the training and the assessment of the work of all students who are seeking to be recognized by the Board of Education as qualified teachers'.¹³⁴ The latter, championed by McNair, A. P. M. Fleming, Lionel Hitchens, A. H. Ross, and J. L. Stocks, recommended the reconstitution of the Joint Board, which should be responsible for 'the organization of an area training service', and for 'the examination and assessment of students both in the university training department and in the training colleges'.¹³⁵

Shortly after the publication of the McNair Report, Clarke actively led the ATCDE to advocate Scheme A in order to influence the policy-making in the near future. As the Chairman of the ATCDE, Clarke launched an attack on Scheme B and persuaded the executive committee to support Scheme A. At a meeting, he described the Joint Board scheme as a 'safeguard against the universities being saddled with

and Lectures of the Allied Countries in Great Britain, Second Educational Conference, 15th April 1944, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ McNair Report, 54.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 62.

possibly unwelcome and onerous responsibilities'.¹³⁶ He argued that the scheme was conservative and called for a newer conception of a university. 'The university', he emphasized, 'must still be a central citadel of pure studies, but, second to this, the ramifications of its influence should spread over a wide area, whilst, thirdly, in its own vicinity it should be surrounded by great professional schools.'¹³⁷ After discussion, a resolution was framed and passed by a majority of the executive committee. To begin with, the committee expressed its preference for Scheme A. It continued its statement as follows:

At the critical turning point in English Education it is essential for the proper development of the teaching profession that immediate steps should be taken to establish a close and integral association with the universities, through whom alone the standards, status and freedom of the profession can be assured. This executive committee which is representative of persons directly engaged in the education and training of intending teachers, is further of opinion that no Joint Board scheme, even as an interim measure, could hope to secure these essentials. Any such scheme would lack authority, would not secure public confidence, would perpetuate undesirable traditions and would do a grave disservice to the development of the national system of education contemplated under the new Education Act.¹³⁸

This resolution was eventually sent to Butler, S. H. Wood, the educational press and other educational associations on 23 May 1944.¹³⁹ At another meeting, Clarke also

¹³⁶ Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee, 19th and 20th May 1944. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/1.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ The Resolution on the McNair Report by A. T. C. D. E. Board of Education papers, The National

clarified some worries about Scheme A. When he was asked about how far the Board would impinge upon the autonomy of the universities under Scheme A, he answered that 'there was little danger of any officious or irksome inspection to be feared'. 'With the abolition of the four year grant', he continued, 'the student's first three years would be no concern of the Board of Education and that the question of academic inspection would not, therefore, arise.'¹⁴⁰ In refuting the argument that the university, under Scheme A, would become swamped with students of less than degree standing, Clarke argued that if 'sub-students' could break away from the poor law tradition they would improve in type. 'Already', he emphasized, 'amongst students themselves (e.g. in the National Union of Students) the distinction hardly existed.'¹⁴¹

Apart from expressing his opinions in his speech and the committee meetings of the ATCDE, Clarke also planned to hold a conference in September 1944 so as to arouse concern in these matters far beyond the immediate range of the staffs of training institutions and to generate a comprehensive declaration of attitude and policy towards the McNair Report.¹⁴² On 3 April 1944, Clarke wrote to Butler in order to invite him to address the conference.¹⁴³ Clarke also mentioned to him that Lord Eustace Percy, who also supported Scheme A, would be invited too.¹⁴⁴ Butler replied to Clarke as follows: 'I am afraid I cannot give you a definite answer to this invitation at this early date. For one thing I shall have to study the McNair Report

Archives, ED/86/109.

¹⁴⁰ Minutes of the meeting of the U. T. D. Panel, 16th June 1944. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/1.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Fred Clarke to all College Correspondents, 26th May 1944. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/1.

¹⁴³ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 3rd April 1944. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/86/109.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

and make up my mind about its chief recommendations and the action to be taken on them.’¹⁴⁵ Although Butler did not accept Clarke’s invitation immediately, Clarke, who led the professional organization, that is, the ATCDE, did attempt anxiously to influence Butler’s position at a very early stage.

6.3 The 1944 Education Act: Towards a Truly Democratic System

In June 1944, foreseeing the advent of a new Act, Clarke already had a sense of mission in helping its implementation. As he confided to his wife, ‘In many ways the year from now on is going to be a critical one and destiny seems to have allotted me a part to play in it... You know what my real interest is: that of seeing the necessary jobs done, whoever does them.’¹⁴⁶ At last, the 1944 Education Act received Royal assent on 3 August 1944 and came into operation since then.¹⁴⁷ Two days later, Clarke wrote to Butler to send his congratulations to Butler on ‘so great an achievement’. To Clarke’s mind, Butler ‘achieved the big and necessary thing: that change of direction in English education’. At the end of this letter, he expressed explicitly his will to help: ‘I need hardly mention the pleasure it will give me personally to do whatever falls to my lot in carrying the great programme into effect.’¹⁴⁸ Like Dent, who was ‘among the most prominent and notable propagandists on behalf of the 1944 Act’, Clarke also made efforts to introduce the new Act to the public and publicize its significance, scope and principles in his speeches, writings and broadcast.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ R. A. Butler to Fred Clarke, 6th April 1944. Board of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/86/109.

¹⁴⁶ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke) (transcribed by Claudia Clarke), 28th June 1944. Clarke papers, FC/4/16.

¹⁴⁷ Gosden, *Education in the Second World War*, 330.

¹⁴⁸ Fred Clarke to R. A. Butler, 5th August 1944. Butler papers, Conservative Party Archives, RAB/2/5.

¹⁴⁹ McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction*, 45.

For Clarke, the Act was a ‘comprehensive and decisive piece of legislation’. Also, it was ‘a step in the process of history’.¹⁵⁰ Its historical significance lay in the fact that it ‘marks [the] transition from a paternal attitude with [an] emphasis on tradition to a democratic [attitude] with [an] emphasis on rational principle[s]’. Moreover, it revealed ‘educational implications of a democratic objective’.¹⁵¹ In this sense, Clarke described the Act as ‘one of the significant changes of direction already referred to’, namely ‘a decisive swing towards a more truly democratic system’.¹⁵² In Clarke’s view, the spirit of democracy was manifest in two principles of the new Act, that is, the principle of Universality and that of Individuality.¹⁵³ By Universality he meant two things, first, ‘the obvious intention to include all alike within the scope of the Act and to go to the limits of the practicable to enlarge opportunity for everybody’; second, ‘the resolve to consider the child’s life and needs in all their aspects’. As for the principle of Individuality, Clarke argued that ‘it was stated most neatly in clause 8, where local authorities are required to provide children with such facilities “as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities, and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school”’.¹⁵⁴ Clarke believed that the successful working of the Act was going to depend on ‘the capacity of the ordinary Englishman to grasp these rational principles’.¹⁵⁵ These two principles underlying the new Act, in effect, reflected Clarke’s democratic ideas about the functions of the State and his organic

¹⁵⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Educating for Democracy’, Southend, 28th September 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

¹⁵¹ Fred Clarke, U. C. Lecture, 24th October 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁵² Fred Clarke, ‘The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance’, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 14/2, January 1945, 181-187 (p. 182). Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁵³ Fred Clarke, ‘The Education Act of 1944’, (Broadcast for Transcription Department)[n.d.; 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. See also Board of Education, *Education Act 1944* (London: HMSO, 1944), 5.

¹⁵⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘The Education Act of 1944’, (Broadcast for Transcription Department)[n.d.; 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

interpretation of equality, which, as shown before, were characteristic of developmental democracy.

In addition, clause 7, which laid down three stages of education for all pupils, that is, primary, secondary and further education, also embodied Clarke's ideas of democracy.¹⁵⁶ First of all, clause 7 denoted 'equality' since it made provision for secondary education for all.¹⁵⁷ Second, according to the clause, the term 'elementary', which implied 'a segregated social lowliness' and 'cheapness', was replaced by the term 'primary'. For Clarke, this suggested that 'we are giving to educational phenomena their true educational names and discarding those which imply rather privilege and social discrimination'.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, for Clarke, clause 7 also suggested 'single LEA'.¹⁵⁹ In other words, the Part III authorities, which were merely in charge of elementary education but still provided secondary education, were to be abolished. This was actually expressed in clause 6, which noted that 'the local education authority for each county shall be the council of the county, and the local education authority for each county borough shall be the council of the county borough'.¹⁶⁰ As Clarke indicated, the purpose of the Act was to 'set up at long last a real unified national system of public education'.¹⁶¹ From the 1920s, Clarke had been campaigning for universal secondary education, the elimination of 'elementary', and the abolition of the Part III authorities. Under the new Act, these reform proposals finally came into effect and the category of 'elementary schools' was also integrated into a national secondary education system.

¹⁵⁶ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The New Secondary Problem', M. A., 2nd December 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵⁸ Fred Clarke, 'The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance', 184.

¹⁵⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities', Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁶⁰ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Fred Clarke, 'The Education Act of 1944', *The Seafarer*, No. 45, January-March 1945, 4-5 (p. 4). Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

On the other hand, as indicated in chapter 5, apart from full-time secondary education, Clarke also called for compulsory part-time continued education on the basis of his democratic ideas and the ideals of developmental democracy. This was eventually legislated by the Act, which provided a new institution called ‘county colleges’ for young persons between the ages of 16 and 18 to attend at least one day a week. According to clause 43, young persons would receive ‘such further education, including physical, practical and vocational training, as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship’.¹⁶² Clarke considered this as ‘the most novel and exciting provision of the whole Act’.¹⁶³ Moreover, since the local authorities were required to provide nursery schools, Clarke claimed that ‘in this Act we are proposing to take care of the young citizen from birth to the verge of maturity’.¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, from Clarke’s perspective, the Act was a combination of ‘democratic inspiration’ and ‘administrative authority’.¹⁶⁵ Clarke claimed that ‘of all these consequential provisions in the Act itself the most striking and important is the change in the status and powers of the central authority’.¹⁶⁶ According to clause 1, the Ministry of Education was set up in replace of the Board of Education and the local authorities were to be exercised ‘under his [the Minister’s] control and direction’.¹⁶⁷ In other words, the Minister was no longer merely to ‘supervise and co-ordinate the activities of local authorities and to administer grants in-aid’.¹⁶⁸ In

¹⁶² Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 34-35.

¹⁶³ Clarke, ‘The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance’, 185.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Fred Clarke, U. C. Lecture, 24th October 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁶⁶ Clarke, ‘The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance’, 185.

¹⁶⁷ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Clarke, ‘The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance’, 185.

fact, Clarke had been campaigning for the reorganization of the central authority from the early 1940s, which, as mentioned above, was in line with the ideals of developmental democracy. After his proposal became a reality, he emphasized that the change was ‘revolutionary’. Nevertheless, in the spirit of liberal democracy, he urged the public to observe ‘how this novel access of authority works itself out in the conditions of English democracy’, that is, to ‘ensure the necessary order and authority in our society with no loss to freedom’.¹⁶⁹ Clarke explained that ‘just because of this inevitable extension of the State’s action and authority (exemplified so strongly in the new Education Act), it is all the more urgent that we should develop adequate and salutary democratic checks on the possible abuse of such authority’.¹⁷⁰ He believed that it was in this field that voluntary organizations would find their place and their indispensable function. A major function of voluntary organizations was ‘acting collectively, as a great and valuable nucleating power for the organizing of public opinion on the wider issues of education in its relation to national well-being’.¹⁷¹ The emphasis on the importance of voluntary organizations in checking the central authority featured one of Clarke’s ideas of democracy, that is, the distinction between the State and community, and also embodied the ideals of developmental democracy.

Although many of Clarke’s reform proposals were included in the new Act, he pointed out that there remained ‘incompleteness’, that is, the ‘dual system’ and the ‘Independent Schools’.¹⁷² Even though he had been fighting for bringing the public

¹⁶⁹ Clarke, ‘The Education Act of 1944’, 5; Fred Clarke, ‘The Education Act of 1944’, (Broadcast for Transcription Department)[n.d.; 1944?] Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁷⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Voluntary Organization in an Educative Society’, The Standing Conference of National Youth Organizations, 17th November 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/58.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Fred Clarke, ‘Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities’, Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

schools into a national educational system during wartime, he must admit that 'products of history...have roots and rituality'.¹⁷³ As mentioned above, since the Fleming Report was not published until July 1944, the new Act did not provide any important provisions for the reform of the public schools except for compulsory registration.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the Fleming Report itself was also disappointing. Scheme B of the Report suggested that the public schools participating in this scheme should 'offer in the first instance a minimum of 25 percent of their annual admissions to pupils from grant-aided Primary Schools'. Also, the Board should grant bursaries to qualified pupils to enable them to proceed to the public schools which were accepted for inclusion in this scheme.¹⁷⁵ In this sense, Nicholas Hillman claims that this scheme was 'far from a single system for all secondary education'.¹⁷⁶ Thus, some groups like the TUC, the NUT, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM), and the National Union of Women Teachers complained that the recommendation did not go far enough.¹⁷⁷ At a meeting of the special committee of the NUT, Clarke expressed his opinions about the Report. The minutes recorded Clarke's advice on the issue of the public schools.

He stressed the necessity of dealing with Public Schools on their educational merits rather than on social grounds. He agreed that they were a distinct species but he expressed the view that they were a species which could ultimately be worked with great value into the national education structure. That could not, however, be done until there was a dissociation of the purely educational issue from the social issue. That dissociation would, of course, take time, but one way

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 51.

¹⁷⁵ Fleming Report, 66.

¹⁷⁶ Hillman, 'Public Schools and the Fleming Report of 1944: Shunting the First-class Carriage on to an Immense Siding?', 242.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 244.

in which it was possible to help to achieve the end they desired was to build upon the fact that at last there was in the country a real alternative to the public school. They should strengthen that alternative in every way and encourage Local Authorities to develop their own boarding schools.¹⁷⁸

Moreover, Clarke agreed to the special committee's rejection of Scheme B. In comparison with his reform proposal about the public schools and his ideal of equality, Clarke emphasized that this scheme merely 'recommends a purely contingent and contractual relationship which is wholly unacceptable'.¹⁷⁹ In the end, Clarke's criticism and the special committee's rejection of Scheme B were expressed in a statement which was submitted by the NUT to the Ministry of Education.¹⁸⁰ Despite being disappointed about the Fleming Report, Clarke insisted on his democratic approach and claimed that 'What we need just now are not hasty and premature advances which may soon come to be regretted and then retracted, but sincere and emphatic affirmations and registrations of the all-essential changes of direction.'¹⁸¹ He believed that 'Something of this we do get in the Fleming Report.'¹⁸²

Apart from introducing and expounding the significance, principles, scope and incompleteness of the new Act, Clarke also drew English people's attention to the subsequent questions about educational arrangements in order to ensure the

¹⁷⁸ Minutes of the third meeting of the special committee on secondary grammar, training college and university education. 27th and 28th October 1944. Institute of Education papers, Institute of Education Archives, IE/FC/2/4.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ 'Statement by the Executive of the Union [National Union of Teachers] of the Fleming Committee Report', 4th November 1944. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/12/158.

¹⁸¹ Clarke, 'The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance', 186.

¹⁸² Ibid.

fulfillment of a long-term reform. Of all the issues, secondary education concerned Clarke most. In the 'transition ages', he argued, it was 'probably wise to form first [a] clear conception of secondary [education] in [a] new order and then adjust [the] rest to that'.¹⁸³ Since, under the new Act, secondary education became a stage through which every pupil should pass, Clarke called for 'devising curricula in suitable variety, planning the inter-relationships of different kind of school, working out criteria by which to decide for each pupil what is the suitable curriculum or type of school, and settling the age at which crucial decision should be taken'.¹⁸⁴ As Deborah Thom indicates, 11-plus still survived after the new Act came into operation and the special place exam was still adopted even though there appeared some novel techniques like the development of school record cards.¹⁸⁵ Hence, Clarke asked English people to think about 'the continued validity of 11-plus'.¹⁸⁶ For him, 'the fixing of 11-plus as the age for a "break" is an administrative makeshift to which a false psychological validity has been given' as it was 'a decision forced upon us by the necessity of planning a three-year "senior" course when the leaving age could not be raised above 14'.¹⁸⁷ In view of this, once again, Clarke made a strong case for a 'special observation period'.¹⁸⁸ This was 'a period of special opportunity and observation, beginning at about 11 and continuing it, maybe until 13'.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, Clarke stressed that 'the age of 13 is the most suitable for the final decision'.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities', Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁸⁴ Clarke, 'The English Education Act of 1944: Its Scope and Significance', 184.

¹⁸⁵ Thom, 'The 1944 Education Act: the "Art of the Possible?"', 115-116.

¹⁸⁶ Fred Clarke, 'A Plea for Relevant Thinking: 1944 Act', *The Journal of Education*, December 1944, 573-574 (p. 574).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities', Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁸⁹ Clarke, 'The Education Act of 1944', 5.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

As regards the organization of secondary education, which was not specified in the new Act, Clarke expressed explicitly his support for the multilateral school. In his speech in August 1944, Clarke argued that the organization of secondary education ‘must be multilateral in principle’ if ‘traditional social attitudes and “prestige” values are not to obstruct just and suitable educational treatment’, if ‘transfer is to be a reality’, and if ‘[the] wide and diversified scope for experimentation under single control is to be secured’.¹⁹¹ Similarly, in another speech in December 1944, he claimed that the principle of a new organization should be ‘[the] “multilateral” principle in varied forms’.¹⁹² In his view, the multilateral school was underpinned by democratic principles. It enabled pupils to obtain a ‘broad general level of cultural capacity and attainment for unity and freedom of intercourse’, since it provided ‘training with [an] increasing emphasis on specialized ability and function, but within a broad range of common treatment, common interests and common intercourse’. Moreover, it helped the ‘breakdown of the “overhang” as expressed in distorting considerations of prestige, social attitudes and other non-educational valuations’, which remained unchanged in the tripartite system.¹⁹³ In other words, in the multilateral school, pupils’ capacities and personality would be developed and realized, and some obstacles to equality like social prestige of different types of school would be eliminated.

Despite these advantages, the multilateral school was often criticized for being a large school. In the face of this criticism, Clarke defended the multilateral school and explained that ‘a school having at its immediate disposal a sufficient range of

¹⁹¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities’, Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

¹⁹² Fred Clarke, ‘The New Secondary Problem’, M. A., 2nd December 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

varied facilities to meet all needs' must mean a large school.¹⁹⁴ In refuting the criticism that a large school was definitely carrying out the 'mass production', Clarke indicated that 'Strange still, the mass production...is going on merrily in number of much smaller English schools today.'¹⁹⁵ Some people also doubted that, in a large school, a Head could not really know each pupil. Clarke answered that 'we might ask whether it is not even more important that the pupil should know the Head and feel his influence'. Moreover, the large school was often deemed 'American', which implied prejudice against the American High School. In response to this, Clarke was confident that 'a large multilateral school in England will be an English school, not an American one, and subject to the play of all the characteristic English influences, not least the powerful influence of the educational tradition itself'. After responding to the criticism of the multilateral school, he emphasized that 'If the multilateral idea is sound and necessary, and if that means a large school, then let us think out our problems and find the way of preserving our values in that setting.'¹⁹⁶ It is noticeable that although Clarke supported the multilateral school, he still highlighted the importance of catering for pupils with 'lower intelligence' and discovering 'more varieties of thoroughbreds'.¹⁹⁷ In other words, educational provision should have regard for 'standards and quality'.¹⁹⁸ Similar to J. S. Mill, Clarke had concern over mediocrity and argued that mediocrity was a form of corruption of democracy.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, he reiterated that a 'democratic form of élite[s]' should be produced through secondary education, which he expounded in

¹⁹⁴ Clarke, 'The Education Act of 1944', 5.

¹⁹⁵ Clarke, 'A Plea for Relevant Thinking: 1944 Act', 574.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities', Nottingham, 21st August 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/26; Fred Clarke, 'Educating for Democracy', Southend, 28th September 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

¹⁹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Educating for Democracy', Southend, 28th September 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

the 1930s and became one of the themes of his democratic ideas.²⁰⁰

Last, after the Bill became the Law, Clarke continued to campaign for the University Schools of Education scheme of the McNair Report. In a speech in October 1944, he maintained that ‘the whole business of training should become a university matter’.²⁰¹ Equally, on 5 January 1945, Clarke delivered a speech to the Joint Conference of Educational Associations. At the beginning of the speech, he stressed ‘the importance of the supply of teachers as one of the main keys to the effective operation of that Act’.²⁰² Following this, he maintained that teachers as ‘ambassadors from society to the kingdom of childhood’ must have ‘the freest opportunities for a liberal education’.²⁰³ Although Clarke did not mention universities in this speech, it could be assumed that he was arguing for a liberal education which could only be provided by universities. Meanwhile, at the conference, the Executive Committee of the ATCDE passed resolutions. Aside from re-affirming the resolution which was submitted to the Board of Education in May 1944, the Executive Committee claimed that:

it is of the highest importance that any proposals for the organization of Teacher Training, formulated by the Ministry of Education following consideration of Chapter 4 of the McNair Report, should be made available for discussion by this Association and other professional organizations concerned before final adoption.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Fred Clarke, “Teaching and Youth Leadership”, Address to the Senior W. A. A. F. Officers’ Conference, 3rd October 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

²⁰² Fred Clarke, ‘The Education Act in Operation’, Address to the Joint Conference of Educational Associations, 5th January 1945. 28th Annual Report of the Conference, 19-24 (p. 19).

²⁰³ Ibid., 22.

²⁰⁴ Fred Clarke to the Secretary of the A. T. C. D. E. , 17th January 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/86/109.

At last, these two resolutions were forwarded to the Ministry of Education.²⁰⁵ As David Crook indicates, among those playing an important part in publicizing the University Schools of Education scheme, 'Fred Clarke was particularly visible'.²⁰⁶

In conclusion, from mid-1943 to 1944, Clarke spared no pains to contribute himself to the process of the legislation. He expressed his warmest support to Butler at every crucial stage in the process of the legislation, from the White Paper to the 1944 Education Act. After the publication of the White Paper, he was vigorously involved in the debate through his speeches and writings, especially, after the appearance of the Norwood Report, focusing on secondary education and the public schools. After the Bill was published, he educated the public about the significance of the Bill and cooperated with other key figures in the reform to publish statements and convene conferences in order to gather public opinion to help its passage. Also, he aroused public opinion to press for more radical reforms in secondary education, the public schools, adult education and teacher education. More important, in his correspondence with Butler, he advised Butler on the issue of the organization of secondary education. Immediately after the 1944 Education Act became the Law, he not only devoted himself to introducing and publicizing it in order to help put into practice the provisions of the new Act, but also led the public to consider subsequent educational arrangements in secondary education on the basis of the principles and spirit of the new Act.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Crook, 'Universities, Teacher Training, and the Legacy of McNair, 1944-94', 238.

Mitchell, Clarke's biographer, maintains that 'It is in no way presumed that Clarke played any major role in the developments leading to the 1944 Act.'²⁰⁷ Indeed, Kevin Jeffereys also indicates that the authorship of the 1944 Education Act was 'ministers and officials'.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, as Barber argues, 'the passage of the 1944 Act owes a great deal to thousands of nameless men and women up and down the country, and to their leaders: people like Ronald Gould, Fred Clarke, Leah Manning, Archbishop Temple and so on'.²⁰⁹ From 1940 onwards, Clarke continued to educate and lead public opinion through his speeches, writings and cooperative actions such as convening conferences and publishing statements in newspapers. Moreover, he grasped every chance to exert his influence on policy-makers, cultural élites, professional organizations and other key figures in the reform. Above all, many of his reform proposals which he had set forth in the 1920s and had been promoting during wartime foreshadowed the 1944 Education Act. Such proposals as universal secondary education, the elimination of the category 'elementary', the abolition of the 'Part III authorities', compulsory part-time continued education to the age of 18, and the replacement of the Board of Education by a comprehensive and powerful Ministry of Education were made provision by the new Act. More important, these reform proposals could find their roots in Clarke's ideas of democracy. As a tribute to Clarke proclaimed, 'the legislative settlement of 1944' did 'clearly reflect the philosophical outlook' of Clarke.²¹⁰ In the light of this, undoubtedly, Clarke, as a leading educational reformer, did play a significant role in the reform leading to the 1944 Education Act.

²⁰⁷ Mitchell, *Sir Fred Clarke*, 113.

²⁰⁸ Kevin Jeffereys, 'R. A. Butler, The Board of Education and the 1944 Education Act', *History*, Vol.69, No. 227 (1984), 415-431 (p. 423).

²⁰⁹ Barber, *The Making of the 1944 Education Act*, 109.

²¹⁰ Judges, 'The Late Sir Fred Clarke', 68.

Ch7 The Task Before Us: 1945-1952

On 7 May 1945, Germany surrendered. Three months later, on 14 August, Japan followed. At last, the Second World War was over. In Britain, politically, the Labour Party won the general election and came into power in July 1945. Economically, by the end of the 1940s, Britain had undergone recurrent difficulties. Shortly after the war, Britain's exports had dropped to one-third of pre-war figures and 40 percent of its overseas markets had been lost.¹ Moreover, in August 1945, American President Truman announced that the 'Lend-Lease', which was the financial credit provided by America under President Roosevelt for Britain to make good the deficit during the war, was to be suspended. The economic crisis was solved for the time being because of a negotiated American loan, which was approved by Congress in 1946. Despite this, Addison points out that 'In order to minimize imports, maximize exports, and prevent inflation, it was essential to hold down consumption and continue the rationing of essential goods in short supply.'² Additionally, in 1947, Britain encountered another economic crisis. It began with a dangerous depletion of fuel stocks caused by undermanning in the coal industry and the severe weather in the winter of 1946. This in turn led to loss of production and the weakness of the export industries. The growing balance of payments crisis eventually resulted in a grave financial crisis over the convertibility of sterling in August 1947. Although America agreed to suspend convertibility, there remained basic economic problems in Britain, for instance, the continuing dollar drain, the growing deficit in trade, and the balance of payments weakness. This implied that rationing must be tightened and

¹ Stephen Brooke, *Reform and Reconstruction: Britain after the War, 1945-1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 13.

² Paul Addison, *No Turning Back: The Peacetime Revolutions of Post-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11-12.

there were more import cuts.³ Indeed, as Addison describes, the immediate post-war years were the 'age of austerity', which lasted into the early 1950s.⁴

Despite all these economic difficulties, the 1945-1951 Labour governments still embarked on the establishment of the Welfare State, which was envisaged and promoted during wartime. For example, full employment was maintained.⁵ The governments also completed some reforms in the fields of economic and social policy. Stephen Brooke indicates that by 1949, 20 percent of the British economy had passed into public ownership through the nationalization of the Bank of England (1946), Cable and Wireless (1946), coal (1946), civil aviation (1946), electricity (1947), inland transport (1947), gas (1948), and iron and steel (1949).⁶ Additionally, social security was guaranteed under the National Insurance Act (1946), the provisions of family allowances and pensions, the National Assistance Act (1948), the set-up of the National Health Service (1948), Rent Control Acts (1946 and 1949), the Housing Act (1949), and the Town and County Planning Act (1947).⁷ More important, in respect of education, the Labour governments brought some provisions of the 1944 Education Act into existence. Betty D. Vernon points out that, within the framework of the Act, Ellen Wilkinson, the Minister of Education (July 1945 – February 1947), accorded the raising of the school-leaving age top priority.⁸ In August 1945, at a Cabinet meeting, Wilkinson announced that the school-leaving age was to be raised to fifteen on 1 April 1947, and later to sixteen.⁹ Overall, as Brooke analyzes, the Labour governments had 'an explicit commitment to a

³ Brooke, *Reform and Reconstruction*, 14-15; Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945-1951* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 341-347.

⁴ Addison, *No Turning Back*, 51.

⁵ Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945-1951*, 183.

⁶ Brooke, *Reform and Reconstruction*, 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 16-18.

⁸ Betty D. Vernon, *Ellen Wilkinson* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 206.

⁹ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 98.

particular ideological direction', namely 'democratic socialism'.¹⁰

In 1945, Clarke retired from the directorship of the Institute of Education and took up a new post as adviser on educational developments and research to the NUT.¹¹ In December 1945, the title of Professor Emeritus of Education in the University of London was conferred upon Clarke in recognition and appreciation of his distinguished services to the Institute and his 'leading influence in shaping the educational policy of this country'.¹² As a significant recognition of his position and role in shaping the educational policy, on 19 December 1944, Clarke was appointed as the first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England).¹³ Clarke's term of office started from then and ended on 13 February 1948.¹⁴ Butler stated that Clarke's 'remarkable qualities made him my choice as first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council'.¹⁵ Moreover, the fact that Clarke continued his post after the Labour Party came into power also shows that his liberal and non-partisan approach was recognized by people in both ends of the political spectrum. In 1945, from March to May, Clarke was in Africa to fulfil tasks given by the Colonial Office.¹⁶ However, while Clarke was in Africa, he expressed to his wife that 'I simply must hasten back to my jobs in England.'¹⁷ After returning to England, Clarke was immediately involved in his work at the Central Advisory Council. His service at the Council and the publication of the first report of the Council, *School and Life* (1947), were conducive to the implementation of the 1944 Education Act.

¹⁰ Brooke, *Reform and Reconstruction*, 2.

¹¹ Aldrich, 'Clarke, Sir Fred', 870.

¹² University of London to Fred Clarke, 18th December 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/33.

¹³ Fred Clarke to Ellen Wilkinson, 21st December 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/136/593.

¹⁴ Minutes of the 30th meeting of the Council, 7th & 8th January 1948. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

¹⁵ Butler, 'The 1944 Act Seen Against the Pattern of the Times', 39.

¹⁶ W. G., 'Sir Fred Clarke', *The New Era*, March 1952, 59-60 (p. 60).

¹⁷ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 1st May 1945. Clarke papers, FC/5/1.

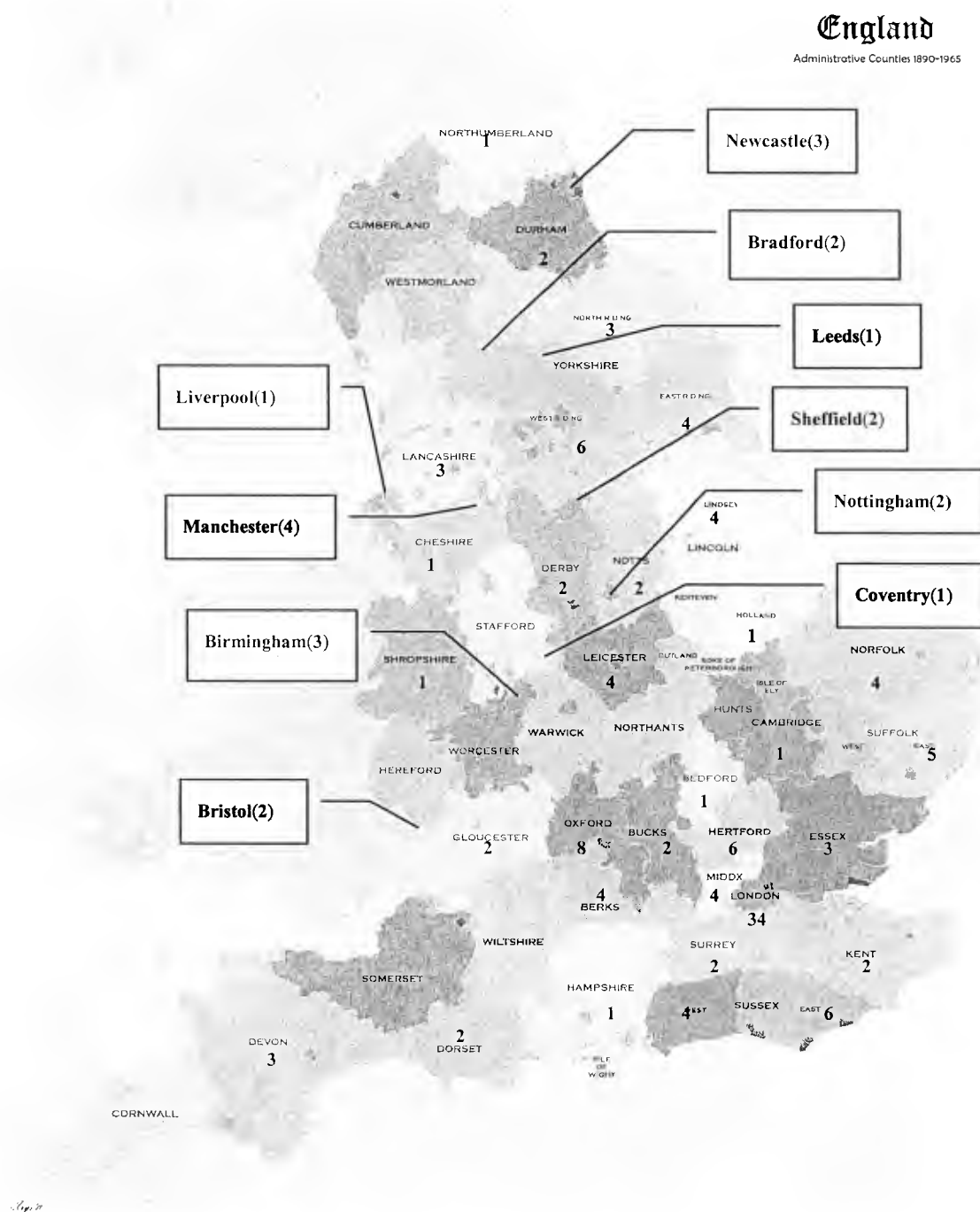
Additionally, between 1945 and 1951, Clarke mainly concerned himself to carry out the reform through travelling around the whole country to deliver speeches to teachers and the public. A tribute to him after his death indicated that ‘he never spared himself a long journey...to meet a group of teachers’.¹⁸ In total, he made at least 182 speeches within seven years (see Appendix 3). As shown in Figure 4, in his mid- to late- 60s, he visited at least 29 counties and 10 main cities. In North England, he travelled to Yorkshire thirteen times. In the Midlands, Lincolnshire (5), Suffolk (5), Leicestershire (4), and Norfolk (4) were those counties he frequently visited. In South-East England, he made 34 speeches in London, where he lived in the post-war years. He also gave many of his talks in Sussex (10), Oxfordshire (8), and Hertfordshire (6). In his speeches, Clarke not only explained the spirit and principles of the new Act but also guided the public to accomplish new tasks under the new Act, such as ‘secondary education for all’ and the establishment of county colleges. Aside from this, Clarke also expounded his perspectives on the roles of teachers in the new situation, and the importance of adult education in maintaining a free democracy and producing free and responsible citizens, in particular in the post-war society with a high level of bureaucracy.

Based on the account above, this chapter will include three sections. The first section will address Clarke’s contribution to the implementation of the 1944 Education Act through examining his work at the Central Advisory Council towards its first report, *School and Life*, and his speech notes and writings about secondary education and county colleges. The second section will illustrate his continuous promotion of a better teacher education and his emphasis on the importance of the

¹⁸ Anonymous, ‘Sir Fred Clarke: The Ideals of Education’, *Times*, 8th January 1952. Clarke papers, FC/1/6.

teaching profession. The third section will deal with his suggestions as to adult education, which were related to his ideas about freedom and education for citizenship. Meanwhile, this chapter will also explain how Clarke's work and educational ideas in all these aspects were underpinned by his ideas of democracy, which, as mentioned in previous chapters, were characteristic of developmental democracy.

Figure 4 Map of speeches of Fred Clarke (1945-1951)



7.1 A Sense of Urgency: the Implementation of the 1944 Education Act

This section will explore how Clarke's work at the Central Advisory Council towards the first report of the Council, as well as Clarke's speeches and writings helped put into practice the 1944 Education Act. In general, since the Act merely made provision for the compulsory registration of the public schools, Clarke paid less attention to these schools than he did during wartime. Furthermore, he did not press for a further reform of them in the aftermath of the war. On this account, this section will primarily focus on the fields of secondary education and county colleges, both of which were significant tasks for Clarke in terms of the implementation of the Act.

7.1.1 Central Advisory Council

According to clause 4 of the new Act, there shall be two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales. Their duty was to 'advise the Minister upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit, and upon any questions referred to them by him'.¹⁹ From 1945 to 1946, the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), chaired by Clarke, conducted its first enquiry, of which the subject was 'the transition from school to independent life'.²⁰ In the early period of its enquiry, the Council was aiming for performing its function of advising the Minister. One paper entitled 'Some Divergences between Theory and Practice in the Schools' and written by Lester Smith, a member of the Council and local education officer, was sent to

¹⁹ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 3.

²⁰ Minutes of the 2nd meeting of the Council, 15th & 16th March 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

Wilkinson. This paper, which later became the first chapter of the report, *School and Life*, indicated that the disparity between theory and practice was remarkable. For example, the size of classes in nursery and primary schools was generally too big and the school buildings were unhealthy and lack of enough space for activities.²¹ In secondary schools, ‘many secondary schools under the new Act are secondary schools in name only’. It added, ‘In personnel, premises, and equipment many of them fall far short of the level formerly required of the secondary schools.’²² In September 1945, when Wilkinson visited the Council, she acknowledged the importance of the paper and understood the facts of the present situation. She claimed that ‘The 1944 Act is an instrument of remedy, and her most important task lies in remedying the situation and removing the difficulties in the way, e.g. shortage of building materials.’²³ Clarke stressed to her that this paper was actually “‘the balance-wheel” in the Council’s deliberations, and a reminder of the realities the Minister was having to face’.²⁴

Apart from advising the Minister, Clarke also expected that the Council ‘would be informing its fellow citizens and assisting in creating informed opinion’.²⁵ Therefore, in preparing the first report of the Council, Clarke suggested that the first chapter be introduced ‘with a rousing sentence’ so as to ‘galvanize public opinion and stop “the axe” from falling on education as it did after the last war and create determination to get the Act—“The great charter of education”—implemented’.²⁶

²¹ Ministry of Education, *School and Life* (London: HMSO, 1947), 10-11.

²² *Ibid.*, 15.

²³ Minutes of the 8th meeting of the Council, 27th & 28th September 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Minutes of the 10th meeting of the Council, 6th & 7th December 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

²⁶ Minutes of the 14th meeting of the Council, 4th & 6th April 1946. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

Clearly, Clarke hoped that the report could play an important role in arousing and gathering public opinion in order to ensure the budget for implementing the new Act. The report was eventually presented to the Minister of Education in January 1947. The Council also recommended that the report be published as soon as possible since it estimated that 'there would be a tendency to talk of cutting expenditure on education'.²⁷ As the preface of the report stated, 'The survey has led to some practical conclusions, a number of which, if they are to be of use at all, should be known at once.' This 'sense of urgency' in terms of carrying into effect the 1944 Education Act penetrated the whole report.²⁸

Aside from advising the Minister and educating public opinion, the Council also addressed the issues of secondary education and county colleges, and set forth its suggestions on them in its first report. The Council's discussions and suggestions, which revealed Clarke's influence on the Council, will be illustrated below.

7.1.2 Secondary Education

In Clarke's view, the most urgent task in the post-war situation was 'secondary education for all'. For making a success of secondary education for all, Clarke delivered numerous speeches on this issue to teachers and public audiences. As he put it, 'One can do that best with a general audience.'²⁹ As regards the task, he argued, 'At centre of [the] whole test is what we make of secondary education for all.'³⁰ In the light of this, he proposed that the principles of 'Universality' and

²⁷ Minutes of the 21st meeting of the Council, 6th & 7th March 1947. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

²⁸ Ministry of Education, *School and Life*, 7.

²⁹ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 7th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/4/6.

³⁰ Fred Clarke, Sunderland, 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

‘Individualization’, which, for him, were governing principles of the 1944 Education Act, be applied to the field of secondary education.³¹ According to the principle of Universality, which was embodied in clause 7, secondary education became ‘a stage for all alike’. The principle of ‘Individualization’, which expressed itself in clause 8, suggested ‘suitable curricula and treatment to be determined on [an] individual basis’.³² For Clarke, this implied that at the secondary level,

The great task that has to be faced is that of working out the different schemes of educational treatment that will be required for the many varieties of need and aptitude that the adolescent population as a whole will reveal and of ensuring that suitable provision is made for each type of treatment.³³

This was what he called ‘diversities of educational treatment’.³⁴ He believed that only ‘diversity of provision’ and ‘realization of abilities on all alike’ could guarantee ‘good humanity’ and ‘good democracy’.³⁵ This coincided with Clarke’s continuous stress on free personality, which reflected Green’s conception of freedom and ideals of developmental democracy. That is, democracy would require the realization of power and abilities in all citizens for contributions to a common good.

Furthermore, Clarke emphasized that the principles of Universality and Individualization represented ‘two aspects of democratic equality’.³⁶ He expounded

³¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary Modern School’, Barrow-in Furness, 10th December 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

³² Fred Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

³³ Fred Clarke, ‘The English Education System’, [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

³⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Education in the New World: Challenge and Opportunity’, Louth, 29th November 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

³⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Changing Conceptions of Education’, East Ham Education Week, 4th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

³⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Aspects of Content and Method in Education’, Lowestoft, 14th June 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

this on the grounds of his organic interpretation of equality, which he proposed in the early 1930s and reflected Hobson's ideas about social organism and social function. In a speech on 'Parity', he argued that since 'differentiation of function' in a society was inevitable, and there were 'inevitable differences of degree as well as of kind' in pupils' capacities, parity should mean that 'every individual shall have scope and opportunity to reveal and develop such capacity as he may possess'. He went on to claim that 'the idea of parity in [an] organic [and] non-mechanical form' was 'a forecast of and preparation for the "just" society of our dreams'.³⁷ This was reiterated later in his essay, 'Quality and Equality'. In it, he maintained that clause 8 of the 1944 Education Act revealed 'the simple principle that each one can claim to have such powers as he possesses recognized and cultivated'. 'There is equality of claim', he added, 'but there cannot be equality of results'.³⁸ His understanding of equality as equality of opportunity and claim rather than equality of results reflected the ideals of developmental democracy, especially those of Lindsay and Hobson. Moreover, since equality was simply equality of claim, he highlighted that quality and equality was not 'incompatible alternatives' but 'inseparables'.³⁹

In relation to this, harking back to his earlier idea of a 'democratic form of élites', which was in accordance with J. S. Mill's ideas of democracy, Clarke re-emphasized that 'In remedying that waste of potential intelligence that has been our offence in the past, we shall be careful not to put any shackles on the thoroughbreds'.⁴⁰ After all, as he argued, 'if we come to treat people as equal in a

³⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Parity', Exeter, [n.d.; 1948?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

³⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Quality and Equality', *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLX, No. 2188, 5th July 1951, 22-23 (p. 22). (Review on *Education and Leadership* by Eric James) Clarke papers, FC/1/46.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Fred Clarke, [no title], [n.d.; 1947?] (Canadian Broadcast). Clarke papers, FC/1/9. See also Fred Clarke, 'New Situation in Secondary Education', Louth 30th November [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

sense in which they are obviously not equal, nothing can save us from the consequences of a colossal waste of talent'.⁴¹ Moreover, for Clarke, diversity itself was 'both the witness and the guarantee of freedom'.⁴² On this account, Clarke indicated that at the secondary level, it was significant to 'discover and cultivate excellence' and to resist 'the pull towards a common mediocrity'.⁴³ More important, there ought to be 'diversities of excellence'.⁴⁴ Clarke explained that secondary schools should 'broaden the basis of selection for excellence and the recognition and cultivation of new types of excellence, in addition to the academic or scholarly type that is so well provided for by the grammar school'.⁴⁵ Therefore, in reviewing *Education and Leadership* (1951) written by Eric James, who was High Master of Manchester Grammar School and devoted himself to defending the grammar schools in the post-war years, although Clarke sympathized with James's idea that one of the chief and indispensable criteria for selection of potential leaders or élites was 'natural intelligence', he questioned James's identification of intelligence with 'intellectual ability'. For Clarke, there should be 'forms of intelligence, of potential leadership value'.⁴⁶ In this sense, Clarke believed that élites could be found 'at every economic level, and every kind of work and sphere of life'.⁴⁷ Éléites, he stressed, 'will be people of influence and shapers of the vigorous public opinion

⁴¹ Fred Clarke, 'Man and his Earth', *Bulletin of Education*, 27, February 1952. (Review on *The Estate of Man* by Michael Roberts) Clarke papers, FC/1/46.

⁴² Fred Clarke, [no title], [n.d.; 1947?] (Canadian Broadcast). Clarke papers, FC/1/9.

⁴³ Fred Clarke, 'Progress and Present Prospects of Educational Science', Doctor Alfred Gilchrist Lecture, University of Aberdeen. 19th February 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/27.

⁴⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The Act on a Long-Term View', S. E. Essex Association, 18th June 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

⁴⁵ Fred Clarke, *La Réforme de l'Enseignement en Grande-Bretagne*. Cahiers de Pédagogie, 6^{me} année, numéro 3, juillet 1947. Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie de l'Université de Liège. Written originally in English as "The English Approach to Education". Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Quality and Equality', *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLX, No. 2188, 5th July 1951, 22-23 (p. 22). (Review on *Education and Leadership* by Eric James) Clarke papers, FC/1/46. See also McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings*, 70-74.

⁴⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Eight Public Lectures on Education and Culture', Given at the Cairo Institute of Education, January-February 1949, Lecture III, Transition to Education. Clarke papers, FC/3/91.

which is so essential to democracy'.⁴⁸ It is noticeable that apart from élites, Clarke also called for greater attention to be paid to the education of 20-25 percent of pupils with lower levels of intelligence.⁴⁹ There was a 'great need for much free but well-planned experiment' on education for 'the weaker intelligences', he proclaimed.⁵⁰

On the basis of the democratic principles underlying secondary education, Clarke expressed his fierce opposition to the tripartite system, which was set forth by the White Paper and the Norwood Report. In effect, the 1944 Education Act did not regulate the organization of secondary education. Clause 11 of the Act simply indicated that the local education authorities (LEAs) were obliged to determine their own development plans in secondary education, and their plans should be submitted to the Ministry of Education and be approved by it.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education was clearly in favour of the tripartite system and endeavored to encourage the LEAs to introduce it to their areas.⁵² On 8 May 1945, while Butler was still in office, a pamphlet entitled *The Nation's Schools: Their Plan and Purpose* was published.⁵³ The pamphlet first acknowledged that there were three broad types intending to meet the differing needs of different pupils, that is, the senior or modern school, the technical school and the grammar school. Following this, it claimed that 'The first problem will then be to decide what provision should be made for each of

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School', Loughborough, 6th August 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, 'The English Education System', [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/28; Fred Clarke, 'New Situation in Secondary Education', Louth 30th November [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

⁵⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Secondary Education and the 1944 Education Act', Durham County, 7th – 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, Sunderland, 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁵¹ Board of Education, *Education Act 1944*, 6-8.

⁵² Gary McCulloch, 'Local Education Authorities and the Organization of Secondary Education, 1943-1950', *Oxford Review of Education*, 28/2&3 (2002), 235-246 (p. 235).

⁵³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 104.

these three broad types.’⁵⁴ After the publication of the pamphlet, Clarke proclaimed in a public speech that he did not accept ‘Trinity’.⁵⁵ Moreover, he argued that there ought to be ‘really many more than three types’ and the tripartite system was the ‘result of administrative convenience and historical accident, not of objective study in terms of educational principle[s]’.⁵⁶ Equally, in another speech, he maintained that the tripartite system was ‘just a matter of administrative accident, and not in any sense a conclusion of universal validity arrived at by scientific and dispassionate study of the facts’.⁵⁷

Shortly after Ellen Wilkinson took office in the Ministry of Education in July 1945, she seemed to consider the tripartite system to be a proper organization of secondary education. When Wilkinson visited the Central Advisory Council in September 1945, she mentioned that ‘if the Council wished to be of use to her it might concern itself with some of her concrete problems—what are we really going to do about the Modern Schools, for example, to see that they do not incur the “faint smear” of inferiority?’⁵⁸ She added that ‘she would welcome ideas on their curriculum’.⁵⁹ After Wilkinson’s visit, Clarke wrote a paper, ‘Current Criticisms of the Proposed Triad of Secondary School Types’, for discussion at the Council.⁶⁰ In this paper, he criticized the Norwood Committee for its suggestion of three types of secondary school. He argued that ‘There is no evidence of any exhaustive study by

⁵⁴ Ministry of Education, *The Nation’s Schools: Their Plan and Purpose* (London: HMSO, 1945), 13.

⁵⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School’, Loughborough, 6th August 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Culture and Vocation in the Post-War World’, Address to the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Warrington, 5th October 1945. *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CXL VIII, No. 1899, 1st November 1945, 350-351 (p. 350). Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the 8th meeting of the Council, 27th & 28th September 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘Current Criticisms of the Proposed Triad of Secondary School Types’. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/13.

the Committee either of the whole range of needs that secondary schools will have to meet, or of the possible types that may emerge in the course of experience.’ Furthermore, he indicated that ‘in view of the past history of the three types, the relative advantage they have offered hitherto and prevailing social attitudes towards them, what are represented as three co-ordinate types will in fact be three social grades, arranged in this order of prestige and preference: grammar, technical, modern’. In this circumstance, parity of three types would be impossible and the hope of free and unobstructed transfer from one type of school to another would be over-sanguine. On this account, he claimed that ‘the argument for maintaining a high degree of fluidity and flexibility in the working of the secondary school system’ must be strengthened. There should not be ‘at the outset a rigid pre-determination of types’.⁶¹ When this paper was discussed at the 10th meeting of the Council, Clarke spoke of ‘the difference already existing between authorities in the practical provision for the Triad, and of the skepticism among researchers as to the reality of the division into types’. He was completely aware that ‘harm had been done by the Norwood Report’. After all, ‘Administratively the Triad looked easy.’⁶²

As Martin Francis argues, Wilkinson’s support for the tripartite system reflected Labour’s obvious affection for the grammar school. Unlike Simon, who argues that the Labour Party had been committed to supporting the multilateral school from wartime, Francis analyzes documents of the Labour Party and points out that, in reality, many in the Party saw the grammar schools as ‘a means of self-improvement for working-class children’.⁶³ Consequently, in the Labour Party, with the exception

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Minutes of the 10th meeting of the Council, 6th & 7th December 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

⁶³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 102-103; Martin Francis, *Ideas and Policies under Labour, 1945-1951: Building a New Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997),

of the NALT, which strongly called for a multilateral or comprehensive system of secondary education, the majority believed that the tripartite system would secure the achievement of secondary education for all.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Wilkinson's background provided another explanation for her policy. Kenneth O. Morgan indicates that since Wilkinson was a distinguished product of the grammar-school tradition, she showed little sympathy with a multilateral or comprehensive system.⁶⁵ On 12 December 1945, the Ministry announced Circular 73, which aimed to provide 'guidance' to the LEAs to develop a tripartite system. According to the Circular, the proportion of accommodation to be allocated to the different types of secondary education would be about 70 to 75 percent for the modern schools and 25 to 30 percent for the grammar and technical schools combined.⁶⁶ In response to the Circular, at a meeting of the Central Advisory Council, Clarke lamented that: 'Why have we some of the best schools in the world, and one of the worst educational systems? Is it due to neglect of the principle of reasonable equality?'⁶⁷

Additionally, Clarke published an article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, in which he reminded the public of the fact that 'The Act has nothing to say about types.' 'If we set ourselves honestly, scientifically and imaginatively to achieve that', he believed, 'we may find ourselves eventually with almost as many "types" as we have schools.'⁶⁸ Similarly, in his speech, he argued that the tripartite system was a 'lazy or "interested" use of old categories (not always genuinely educational) to meet new situations' and just provided 'premature answers' to the problem of

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⁶⁴ Francis, *Ideas and Policies under Labour, 1945-1951*, 142. See also Billy Hughes, 'In Defence of Ellen Wilkinson', *History Workshop*, 7, Spring 1979, 157-160 (p. 159).

⁶⁵ Morgan, *Labour in Power 1945-1951*, 174-175.

⁶⁶ McCulloch, *Failing the Ordinary Child?*, 71.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the 11th meeting of the Council, 10th & 11th January 1946. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

⁶⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Taking the Measure of It', *TES*, 26th January 1946, p. 39. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

‘types’.⁶⁹ Moreover, to his mind, the fact that the tripartite system meant ‘types of school’ rather than ‘types of educational treatment’ would cause a ‘limiting effect on thinking and experiment’.⁷⁰ In opposition to this, he suggested that while working out the new conception of ‘types’, people should keep their thoughts and actions ‘fluid’ and ‘experimental’.⁷¹ On the one hand, there should be experiments in schools to find out the ‘types’.⁷² On the other hand, he urged ‘fluidity of classification’.⁷³ Apart from the premature types determined by the Circular, Clarke also criticized the measure of beginning ‘by declaring that there shall be such and such types of secondary school in a certain proportion’, and then proceeding to ‘sort children in numbers already thus determined’. For him, it was ‘reversing the proper order’.⁷⁴

In February 1947, after Wilkinson’s sudden death while in office, George Tomlinson succeeded her as the Minister of Education and followed his predecessor’s policy. In June 1947, the Ministry announced Circular 144 and published another pamphlet, *The New Secondary Education*, to offer guidance on the planning of secondary education.⁷⁵ The Circular 144 stated that ‘It is not possible to deal intelligibly with the organization of secondary education without reference to the three broad types — modern, technical and grammar — in terms of which its

⁶⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Aim and Purpose of the New Secondary School’, Cardiff, 20th February, 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁷⁰ Fred Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26; Fred Clarke, ‘New Situation in Secondary Education’, Louth 30th November [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁷¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Some Problems of the New Secondary Organization’, Nottingham, 27th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁷² Fred Clarke, ‘Importance of Educational Research’, Liverpool, 10th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/45.

⁷³ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary Education and the 1944 Education Act’, Durham County, 7th – 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁷⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Progress and Present Prospects of Educational Science’, Doctor Alfred Gilchrist Lecture, University of Aberdeen. 19th February 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/27.

⁷⁵ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 107.

varieties are generally known and described.⁷⁶ *The New Secondary Education* also set forth the three types of secondary school.⁷⁷ In view of the continuous ‘central pressure’, once again, Clarke made a strong case for ‘experiment and fluidity both within school[s] and in general set-up’.⁷⁸ In another speech, he explicitly pointed out that the tripartite system was the ‘Ministry’s error’ in that ‘[its] administrative action [was] outrunning educational adaptation and development’. Therefore, he reiterated that there was a ‘need for [a] rather long fluid suspense period for experiment and re-thinking’ in order to ‘work out educational possibilities of new forms’.⁷⁹ For Clarke, the issue of ‘types of education’ was more essential to secondary education than ‘administrative forms and organizations’. After all, as he argued, ‘the differentiated demand is there whatever the organization [may be]’.⁸⁰ As a result, when he gave a talk on ‘What Kind of Secondary Education?’ in late 1950, he concluded, on the basis of the principles of the Act, the answer should be ‘one kind in many varieties (not three only)’.⁸¹

Nevertheless, although Clarke was critical of the tripartite system and fully aware of the detrimental effects it would cause to social unity, considering the fact that many local authorities decided to adopt the tripartite system, he suggested those authorities to regard ‘the trinity’ as a ‘starting-point’ and ‘adapt it to fulfil [the] objective’ which was outlined in clause 8.⁸² Indeed, according to McCulloch’s analysis, there were some LEAs choosing a tripartite system or a bipartite system

⁷⁶ Ministry of Education, *Circulars and Administrative Memoranda* (London: HMSO, 1948).

⁷⁷ Ministry of Education, *The New Secondary Education* (London: HMSO, 1947), 22-23.

⁷⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘The Task Before Us’, Alnwick, 19th September 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

⁷⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Selection (Allocation)’, Guernsey, 8th June 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁸⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘An Interim Survey’, Coventry, 11th May 1949. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁸¹ Fred Clarke, ‘What Kind of Secondary Education?’, Lewes, 27th November 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁸² Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary Education and the 1944 Education Act’, Durham County, 7th – 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

because of ‘administrative convenience’, ‘consideration of the demographics and the social and economic needs of the area’, and ‘ideological or theoretical’ preference.⁸³ Hence, Clarke made a compromise between his ideals and practice. First of all, with regard to the technical schools, in fact, Clarke rarely mentioned them in his speeches and writings. As he argued during wartime, once again, he called for the abolition of the term, ‘technical’, in full-time education.⁸⁴ In Clarke’s view, general education and technical education were two phases of education rather than two kinds of education.⁸⁵ Moreover, he realized that the technical schools were ‘almost wholly experimental’.⁸⁶ As McCulloch points out, not only the Ministry of Education did little to clarify the character and role of these schools, the LEAs were also uncertain about the future prospects of this generally untried form of education.⁸⁷ Under these circumstances, the idea of ‘bilateral’ secondary schools, grammar-technical and technical-modern, became more favoured by the LEAs than the idea of separate provision for the technical schools.⁸⁸ Eventually, the technical schools failed to develop and recruit the expected 10-15 percent of secondary school pupils. By the 1950s, they only catered for less than 4 percent of pupils.⁸⁹ Consequently, Clarke was inclined to focus on the other two types of secondary school.

In respect of the grammar schools, based on his belief in the importance of élites and excellence in democracy, Clarke argued that the ‘principle of action’

⁸³ McCulloch, ‘Local Education Authorities and the Organization of Secondary Education, 1943-1950’, 236.

⁸⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School’, Loughborough, 6th August 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁸⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Culture and Vocation in the Post-War World’, Address to the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Warrington, 5th October 1945. *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CXL VIII, No. 1899, 1st November 1945, 350-351 (p. 350). Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁸⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘Selection (Allocation)’, Guernsey, 8th June 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁸⁷ Gary McCulloch, *The Secondary Technical School: A Usable Past?* (London: The Falmer Press, 1989), 57-59.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸⁹ McCulloch, *Failing the Ordinary Child?*, 60.

should be 'to cut out waste without impairing standards'.⁹⁰ This provided justification for the existence of the grammar schools since, as Clarke acknowledged, the value of the grammar schools lay in 'standards of work and achievement'.⁹¹ However, in an article published in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Clarke stressed that 'they should not assume that their laurels will be won in the future in exactly the same way as in the past'.⁹² Facing the situation that some figures and organizations like Eric James, Creech Jones, a Labour parliamentarian, and the IAAM were defending the grammar schools, Clarke maintained that 'No school has the right to claim exemption, to urge that it, at least, should be left unaffected by the demands of the new situation.'⁹³

In a speech in February 1946, Clarke re-emphasized that the 'Grammar School type' was 'still needed' for the able pupils. However, in terms of adjustment, there should be either 'diversification within the Grammar Schools' or 'fewer of them'. That is to say, 'other types of ability' should also be 'best provided by same internal diversification'.⁹⁴ Clarke reiterated the suggestions in his other speeches. For example, in March 1946, he maintained that what should be 'constant and lasting' at the grammar schools was the 'ideal of a liberal education', which was characterized by 'broad cultivation of human possibilities', covering 'main fields of human interest', and 'regard for needs of society and honorable useful career'.⁹⁵ However,

⁹⁰ Fred Clarke, Varndean (Brighton), Speech-Day, 20th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62; Fred Clarke, Cheltenham, [n. d.] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁹¹ Fred Clarke, 'What Can Secondary Education Offer Your Son?', Acton County School, 31st January 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁹² Fred Clarke, 'Taking the Measure of It', *TES*, 26th January 1946, p. 39. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

⁹³ Ibid.; Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 126; Roy Lowe, *Education in the Post-war Years: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 1988), 42.

⁹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Aim and Purpose of the New Secondary School', Cardiff, 20th February, 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁹⁵ Fred Clarke, Henry Mellish School, 27th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

they should either restrict their intake, or widen their scope.⁹⁶ In October 1946, he also argued that the grammar schools represented the ‘notion of quality’, but the notion would need ‘review and diversification’. He emphasized that the achievement of the grammar schools should be ‘assimilated, developed and diversified’ rather than ‘ignored or flattened out by [a] false notion of equality’.⁹⁷

Additionally, Clarke noticed that some people assumed that the grammar schools were pre-eminent and, like the public schools, were cultivating ‘leadership’.⁹⁸ In opposition to this, Clarke argued that leadership was ‘potentially a call to anybody’.⁹⁹ He hoped that the grammar schools could ‘drop affections of privilege’ and ‘cooperate whole-heartedly’ since they were ‘one vital section of [the] universal field’.¹⁰⁰ In view of this, he urged the grammar schools to look to ‘other “secondary” [schools] rather than to the direct grant schools or the independent schools’.¹⁰¹ When he gave a talk at Wheelwright Grammar School in December 1946, he encouraged the grammar schools to ‘take the lead’ in working out ‘the possible forms of human excellence that universal secondary education may discover and develop’.¹⁰² In other words, they should ‘join with new colleagues [in other secondary schools] in thinking out the possibilities of “human” education for all in all their diversity’.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ Ibid. See also Fred Clarke, ‘Some Problems of the New Secondary Organization’, Nottingham, 27th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁹⁷ Fred Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

⁹⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘Some Problems of the New Secondary Organization’, Nottingham, 27th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

⁹⁹ Fred Clarke, Varndean (Brighton), Speech-Day, 20th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Fred Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26; Fred Clarke, ‘New Situation in Secondary Education’, Louth 30th November [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁰² Fred Clarke, Dewsbury, Wheelwright Grammar School, 4th December 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

In general, from 1947 onwards, the focus of Clarke's speeches and writings shifted gradually from the grammar schools to the modern schools. Even so, he continued to call for the adaptation of the grammar schools until 1951. In a speech on 'Function of the Grammar School' in March 1951, Clarke stressed that 'the grammar school has to re-think itself and its function' and 'in relation to the whole national purpose'.¹⁰⁴ For him, the grammar schools, which were set up mainly for 'selected abler pupils from 11-plus to 18', had such duties as the preparation of university entrants and professions, the cultivation of 'Élite[s] of values', and the provision of 'intellectual equipment and insight'. In spite of this, he promoted more 'possibilities of cultivation and development other than intellectual [equipment and insight]' in these schools and, more important, their 'cooperation with other schools'. He warned the grammar schools of the 'evil consequences of aims of "superiority" to the secondary modern schools'.¹⁰⁵

As for the modern schools, as *School and Life* indicated, in personnel, premises, and equipment, many of them fell far short of the level formerly required of the secondary schools.¹⁰⁶ Clarke was certainly aware of this. However, in the post-war period, Clarke gradually saw significance and new possibilities in the modern schools. Especially from 1947, he was involved in promoting a new conception of secondary education in them, which was beyond their origin. In fact, Clarke's optimism about the modern schools chimed with that of the Ministry of Education. As McCulloch indicates, Wilkinson was convinced that the status and standards of the modern schools could be improved to the level of other types of secondary

¹⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Function of the Grammar School', A. A. M., Dover, 18th March 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ministry of Education, *School and Life*, 15.

school.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, David Hardman, Parliamentary Secretary, argued that the modern schools should represent ‘a new and better conception of education for the adolescent, rather than an apish imitation of what in many respects in secondary education has been a failure in the past’.¹⁰⁸ Their vision of the modern schools was embodied in the Ministry of Education pamphlet, *The New Secondary Education*. The pamphlet claimed that if modern school education was to provide for all the needs of children, ‘it can only do so satisfactorily if it is not dominated by traditions’ deriving from the grammar schools.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, this pamphlet held a conviction that ‘As the modern schools develop, parents will see that they are good; it will become increasingly common for them to...select a modern school as the one best suited to their children’s requirements on grounds unhampered by considerations of “prestige”’.¹¹⁰

From 1946, Clarke started talking about the modern schools. In December 1946, he delivered a speech on ‘Secondary Modern School’, in which he called for ‘experiment and demonstration’ in the modern schools. They should be provided with the ‘maximum of parity of conditions’. Moreover, he emphasized that the modern school must develop ‘its own character’ and there was ‘no imitation in [the] hope of a borrowed prestige’.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, he did not set forth a clear idea about what character the modern schools should have until the summer of 1947. In August 1947, he explicitly proposed that the modern schools, which were intended to cater for about three-quarters of secondary school pupils, should provide ‘a liberal

¹⁰⁷ McCulloch, *Failing the Ordinary Child?*, 62.

¹⁰⁸ David Hardman, memo to Minister, 19th March 1946. Ministry of Education papers, the National Archives, ED/136/788.

¹⁰⁹ Ministry of Education, *The New Secondary Education*, 46.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹¹ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary Modern School’, Barrow-in Furness, 10th December 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

education for the majority'.¹¹² After this, the idea was advocated repeatedly in Clarke's speeches and writings. For example, in October 1948, he pointed out that the modern school was 'the real testing-ground of "liberal education for all"'.¹¹³ Also, he claimed that the suggested function of the modern schools was 'liberal education for [the] rank and file'.¹¹⁴ Moreover, although Clarke was seriously ill in Cairo in early 1949, after he returned to England, he continued to urge the modern schools to create their own tradition and 'eliminate "elementary" tradition' by preaching the idea, that is, 'liberal education for the many'.¹¹⁵ Indeed, as Claudia Clarke indicates, 'he killed himself virtually, travelling all over the country lecturing to the NUT, trying to get teachers to do something about what were to be called the secondary modern schools, to upgrade them'.¹¹⁶

In order to achieve the ideal of 'liberal education for the many', Clarke argued that the modern schools should 'stand for a spirit of treatment' instead of 'a specific "type" of school'.¹¹⁷ They should provide 'a new and wide range of secondary "treatment"'.¹¹⁸ 'A vastly extended range of secondary education' must be worked out and 'diversity of facilities' should be accessible in them.¹¹⁹ Since the modern schools had to provide for the needs of nearly three quarters of secondary school pupils, Clarke added, there was 'no time to be lost'.¹²⁰ Additionally, he stressed

¹¹² Fred Clarke, 31st July, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 13th August Gorleston, 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹¹³ Fred Clarke, Plymouth Refresher Course, 13th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62; Fred Clarke, 'The Educational Prospect', Sidcup, 16th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹¹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Parity', Exeter, [n.d.; 1948?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹¹⁵ Fred Clarke to Gig (Edith Clarke), 3rd March 1949. Clarke papers, FC/5/1; Fred Clarke, 'Secondary Modern School', Eastbourne Conference, 4th August 1949. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, 'What of the Future?', Goldsmiths' Old Students, 4th March 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹¹⁶ Transcription of an interview with Fred Clarke's daughters, Claudia and Anna, by Professor Richard Aldrich, 14th August 1997.

¹¹⁷ Fred Clarke, Gorleston, First Lecture-Opening, [n.d.; August 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹¹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Selection (Allocation)', Guernsey, 8th June 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹¹⁹ Fred Clarke, 'What Kind of Secondary Education?', Lewes, 27th November 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

time and again that the modern schools must work out varied and new ‘forms of standards and excellence’ alongside those standards already achieved by the grammar schools.¹²¹ Clarke believed that ‘forms of excellence in secondary modern schools [are] often more relevant to modern conditions’.¹²² Moreover, he maintained that the modern schools should produce their own ‘élites’.¹²³ This was because these élites would be ‘socially very valuable as likely to exercise just those types of leadership which are called for in those ranks of society to which modern school pupils ordinarily pass’.¹²⁴

Furthermore, Clarke also tried to define modern school curriculum on the basis of the ideal of liberal education for the many. First, after the school-leaving age was raised to 15 in April 1947, Clarke argued that modern school curriculum should be conceived as a ‘four years secondary course for [the] rank and file’.¹²⁵ He criticized the ‘short-sighted improvisations’ of the ‘extra year’ and stressed the ‘importance of determining [the] short-term action in [a] long-term perspective’.¹²⁶ Second, since the main function of the modern schools was to provide liberal education for the many, he reinterpreted the tradition of liberal education, which was an outstanding European achievement. According to Clarke’s analysis, in the ‘old’ liberal education,

¹²¹ Fred Clarke, Varndean (Brighton), Speech-Day, 20th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62; Fred Clarke, ‘Liberal Education for the Many’, E. Riding Conference, 16th October 1947. Clarke papers, FC/3/40; Fred Clarke, ‘Scope and Content of Secondary Modern Education’, Ipswich, 14th November 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, Plymouth Refresher Course, 13th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹²² Fred Clarke, ‘Function of the Grammar School’, A. A. M., Dover, 18th March 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²³ Fred Clarke, ‘England and Wales: Education and Economic Change’, *The Yearbook of Education*, 1949, 128-149 (p. 140). Clarke papers, FC/1/24; Fred Clarke, ‘Looking Before and After’, Institute Conference, 30th June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹²⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Quality and Equality’, *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLX, No. 2188, 5th July 1951, 22-23 (p. 22). (Review on *Education and Leadership* by Eric James) Clarke papers, FC/1/46.

¹²⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘Scope and Content of Secondary Modern Education’, Ipswich, 14th November 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘The Act on a Long-Term View’, S. E. Essex Association, 18th June 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

man was 'free' in [the] double sense of 'mastery of himself and his world' and 'left none of his powers uncultivated'.¹²⁷ However, this kind of education was highly selective in that the masses were untouched by it. Moreover, the curriculum in the old liberal education was 'classical'.¹²⁸ If liberal education was to be provided for the many, Clarke argued, it should have the same essential objectives, but comprise a set of 'different and much diversified curriculum'.¹²⁹ Aside from this, the 'functional' conception of curriculum in secondary schools, which Clarke had put forward in the late 1930s, was applied to modern school curriculum. As Clarke indicated, the modern school was a 'supreme exercise-ground' for the functional conception of curriculum.¹³⁰ According to the 'functional' conception, curriculum was thought 'in terms not of a body of "knowledge"...but of a person who has become through learning an organized or more or less unified system of acquired modes of behavior'.¹³¹ From this perspective, subjects would 'lose much of their traditional authority', though, Clarke emphasized, they 'cannot wholly be discarded'.¹³² Moreover, the essentials of curriculum were no longer subjects, but three categories, that is 'techniques', 'insights', and 'appreciations'.¹³³

¹²⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Liberal Education for the Many', E. Riding Conference, 16th October 1947. Clarke papers, FC/3/40; Fred Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19; Fred Clarke, Plymouth Refresher Course, 13th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹²⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19; Fred Clarke, Plymouth Refresher Course, 13th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62; Fred Clarke, 'Scope and Content of Secondary Modern Education', Ipswich, 14th November 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹²⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹³⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Content and Method', Bristol Refresher Courses, 17th and 18th September 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.; Fred Clarke, 'Secondary Modern School', Eastbourne Conference, 4th August 1949. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹³³ Fred Clarke, 'The New Four Year Secondary Course', Sheffield, 9th June 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/50; Fred Clarke, 'Scope and Content of Secondary Modern Education', Ipswich, 14th November 1947; Fred Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19; Fred Clarke, 'Secondary Modern School', Eastbourne Conference, 4th August 1949. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

Clarke argued that the ‘functional’ conception of curriculum should also be applied to the grammar schools, especially focusing on ‘verbal functioning’.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, he highlighted that it was much more likely for the modern schools to adopt the functional curriculum than for the grammar schools.¹³⁵ This was because the latter should still provide a ‘systematic organization of knowledge’ while the former would emphasize ‘techniques and elements in real situations’, which would be directed to ‘action[s] and experience[s]’.¹³⁶ Furthermore, in Clarke’s view, modern school education should concentrate on the qualities of citizens, especially moral qualities, such as tolerance, cooperativeness, self-discipline, responsibility and integrity.¹³⁷ As he proclaimed, ‘the task of the so-called “modern” school is to provide at the highest possible level a living model of the democratic way of life as the training-ground for what is to come’.¹³⁸ Last, Clarke called for experiment and research on modern school curriculum on the basis of the ‘presupposition of democracy’, that is, ‘educational decisions [must be taken] on educational grounds’.¹³⁹ Since experiments must be conducted within the modern schools, Clarke emphasized that ‘the autonomy of the school’ must be guaranteed.¹⁴⁰

As for the examination of the modern schools, the Ministry of Education pamphlet, *The Nation’s Schools*, suggested that the modern schools be ‘free from the pressures of any external examination’ so that they can ‘work out the best and

¹³⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Modern School Curriculum’, N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹³⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘The Changed Outlook on Teaching-Part II’, *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLVI, No. 2102, 6th October 1949, 386, 388 (p. 386). Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

¹³⁶ Fred Clarke, 31st July, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 13th August Gorleston, 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/19; Fred Clarke, Institute, 19th November 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹³⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Secondary Modern School’, Eastbourne Conference, 4th August 1949. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹³⁸ Fred Clarke, Introduction to *Theory and Practice in the New Secondary Schools* by A. Greenough and F. A. Crofts (London: University of London Press, 1949), 5-8 (p. 6).

¹³⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘The Curriculum: Need for Experimentation and Research’, Halifax, 31st May 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

liveliest forms of secondary education suited to their pupils'.¹⁴¹ Equally, another pamphlet, *The New Secondary Education*, also pointed out that 'it is impracticable to combine a system of external examinations, which presupposes a measure of uniformity, with the fundamental conception of modern school education, which insists on variety'.¹⁴² Furthermore, in 1948, the Ministry of Education accepted the report of the reconstituted Secondary School Examination Council, *Examinations in Secondary Schools* (1947) and was to introduce the new examination—the General Certificate of Education in 1951, for which the minimum age of entry was 16.¹⁴³ As Val Brooks indicates, this measure, whose purpose was to exempt pupils in the modern schools from external examinations, offered 'unequal examining opportunities' and inevitably caused a barrier to the achievement of 'parity of esteem' between the modern schools and the grammar schools.¹⁴⁴ In view of this, Clarke suggested that external examinations would still be needed for modern school pupils. However, he argued that the 'question of examination focus' must be considered in order to make sure that examinations would not cause 'harm to [the] educational purpose' of the modern schools.¹⁴⁵ After all, in the modern schools, he emphasized, there were 'intellectually inclined few [pupils], with [the] prospect of educational advancement later'. These pupils should not be neglected and thus a 'new exam-system' and the 'sixth form' should be applied to them.¹⁴⁶

As well as calling for the adjustment of the grammar schools and the modern

¹⁴¹ Ministry of Education, *The Nation's Schools*, 21.

¹⁴² Ministry of Education, *The New Secondary Education*, 46.

¹⁴³ Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990*, 113.

¹⁴⁴ Val Brooks, 'The Role of External Examinations in the Making of Secondary Modern Schools in England 1945-65', *History of Education*, 37/3 (2008), 447-467 (pp. 453, 457).

¹⁴⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Curriculum and Exams in Secondary Schools', Bucks-Teachers [Harriston?] House, 28th February 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/19.

schools, Clarke also encouraged experiments for the multilateral or comprehensive school. He emphasized that on the issue of the organization of secondary education, 'conjecture' must be 'displaced by results of long and varied experiment[s]'.¹⁴⁷ In view of this, in a speech in 1945, Clarke advocated an open mind on the multilateral school, in which, he argued, 'different types can be provided for'.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in October 1946, he delivered two speeches in Durham, which later decided to adopt a bipartite system (grammar-technical and modern schools), with highly industrialized areas providing three types of school (grammar, technical and modern) grouped in multilateral units.¹⁴⁹ He called for leaving some scope for adaptation, revision and development, by which he meant experiments on the multilateral idea.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, he stressed that the multilateral school could provide a 'wide range of resources', 'easy adaptation and interchange' and, above all, 'parity'.¹⁵¹ In the same month, he gave a talk in Middlesex, which submitted a plan for a comprehensive school.¹⁵² In this talk, Clarke praised the multilateral idea for its implication of 'a united society living in a common cultural medium at differing levels of perception and contribution'.¹⁵³ In June 1947, when travelling to Sheffield, which supported a tripartite system from wartime, he asked his audience to pay attention to the 'argument for [the] "multilateral" [school]'.¹⁵⁴ In a speech in Louth, Clarke even clearly pointed out that, in terms of the organization of secondary education, there

¹⁴⁷ Fred Clarke, Cheltenham, [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁴⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School', Loughborough, 6th August 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁴⁹ McCulloch, *Failing the Ordinary Child?*, 72-73.

¹⁵⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Secondary Education and the 1944 Education Act', Durham County, 7th – 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵¹ Fred Clarke, Sunderland, 11th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁵² McCulloch, 'Local Education Authorities and the Organization of Secondary Education, 1943-1950', 236.

¹⁵³ Fred Clarke, 'The Common Secondary School', Middlesex Conference, 19th October 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵⁴ McCulloch, 'Local Education Authorities and the Organization of Secondary Education, 1943-1950', 241. Fred Clarke, 'The New Four Year Secondary Course', Sheffield, 9th June 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

should be two ‘alternatives’, that is, ‘comprehensive or two “types” (distinction of more able [pupils])’.¹⁵⁵

In 1950, Clarke continued to argue for the comprehensive school owing to its strengths such as ‘flexibility’ and ‘easy adaptation and “transfer”’.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, it could provide ‘wide resources of staff and facilities under one command’, which would help to do ‘continuously in the school itself what, in [a] tripartite [system], the LEA does catastrophically, once for all’, that is, the allocation of pupils to different forms of education according to their needs, abilities and aptitudes. Clarke also refuted the objection to the ‘American size’ of the comprehensive school. He argued that in a big school, ‘every pupil [is] to be “known” professionally by the school, as the good hospital knows its patients’. Despite these strengths, Clarke criticized the proponents of the comprehensive school for their ideas about ‘social mixture’.¹⁵⁷ As Shena Simon pointed out, one main argument for the comprehensive school was that ‘the best preparation for life in a democratic community is a school life in which all social classes and all grades of intelligence mix in the formative years of adolescence’.¹⁵⁸ In other words, the supporters of the comprehensive school argued for a mixture of social classes and varied abilities. They maintained that ‘an aristocracy of brains might be as bad for the social health of a democracy as an aristocracy of wealth’.¹⁵⁹ This was completely in contrast with Clarke’s belief in a democratic form of élites. Thus, Clarke indicated that ‘social mixture’ was a ‘wrong criterion’ for the organization of secondary education. For

¹⁵⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘New Situation in Secondary Education’, Louth 30th November [n. d. 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵⁶ Fred Clarke, ‘What Kind of Secondary Education?’, Lewes, 27th November 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Shena Simon, *Three Schools or One?* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1948), 8.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 55.

him, a school was a 'place for teaching'. In the light of this, he claimed that there should be 'limits to degree of mixture on educational grounds'.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, he believed that there would be a test for the comprehensive school, that is, 'the ability to handle effectively the true Grammar School type [of pupils]'. In order to know whether the comprehensive school could pass the test, he argued that it 'should be tried under fair conditions' and 'only in certain areas'.¹⁶¹

In late 1950, Clarke reiterated these ideas. He stressed that 'the comprehensive school is a form of organization well justified by the principles of the Act'.¹⁶² However, he indicated that 'arguments for or against the comprehensive school should be confined strictly to purely educational arguments'. He went on to explain that:

It does not at all follow that by bringing different classes of society together in the same school you thereby advance social unity. You may be producing just the opposite results, and at the same time running the risk of contaminating your genuine educational purpose by considerations not relevant to it. Besides, if the common 'Three-type' system is honestly worked in the spirit of the Act, should it not result in a varied social mixture in each type of school?¹⁶³

On this account, Clarke re-emphasized that 'the question whether the comprehensive school can serve adequately the needs of the intellectually able type, the sixth former, is one that its advocates will have to answer'. Although he was inclined to think that

¹⁶⁰ Fred Clarke, 'What Kind of Secondary Education?', Lewes, 27th November 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Fred Clarke, 'The Comprehensive School', ENEF Bulletin, No. 68, November-December 1950. World Education Fellowship papers, Institute of Education Archives, WEF/C/temporary reference 37.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

the test for the comprehensive school would be met, he still called for 'the experiment in reasonably favorable conditions and with no hampering prejudices'.¹⁶⁴ After all, as he put it in the *Times*, 'the only honest answer is to say that as yet we do not know, and it is a little disingenuous to suggest that we do'.¹⁶⁵

On the other hand, it is noticeable that Clarke proclaimed that he hoped 'not to be taken as advocating the comprehensive school as a form of secondary organization to be adopted throughout the country'.¹⁶⁶ For him, 'that is a very different question'.¹⁶⁷ In this regard, Clarke's position chimed with that of Wilkinson and Tomlinson. In defence of Wilkinson, Billy Hughes, Wilkinson's Parliamentary Private Secretary, indicated that, so far from being opposed to the multilateral school, Wilkinson positively encouraged experimentation.¹⁶⁸ Equally, according to Roy Lowe's analysis, Tomlinson was inclined to encourage 'small-scale experimentation rather than wholesale reorganization'.¹⁶⁹ In other words, as Francis puts it, both of them 'had no desire to see the establishment of a national comprehensive system'.¹⁷⁰

Last, as far as the age and techniques of selection in secondary education were concerned, Clarke continued to oppose taking 11-plus as a dividing line between primary and secondary education. In an article he wrote for discussion at the Central Advisory Council, Clarke noted Cyril Burt's argument that 'the age of 11-plus is much too early for the emergence of special aptitude[s] in sufficient strength to

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Comprehensive Schools: Concern for Ablest Pupils', *Times*, 9th July 1951.

¹⁶⁶ Fred Clarke, 'The Comprehensive School', *ENEF Bulletin*, No. 68, November-December 1950. World Education Fellowship papers, Institute of Education Archives, WEF/C/temporary reference 37.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Hughes, 'In Defence of Ellen Wilkinson', 158.

¹⁶⁹ Lowe, *Education in the Post-war Years*, 47.

¹⁷⁰ Francis, *Ideas and Policies under Labour, 1945-1951*, 144.

justify their use as criteria for allocating children to different types of school'. Also, Clarke indicated that there was already grave doubt upon 'the idea formerly held that the Intelligence Quotient remains constant over the years of growth'.¹⁷¹ Therefore, once again, he claimed that '13 [is] better than 11-plus for effective decisions'.¹⁷² Moreover, he argued for 'regarding [the period from] 11-plus to 13-plus as [a] "try-out" period'.¹⁷³ Selection should be 'a continuous process', which, for him, was a 'real test of success in [the] new secondary order'.¹⁷⁴ As for the techniques of selection, Clarke pointed out that the 11-plus examination connoted 'no parity', since there was only '[a] single track [of] secondary [education] governed by [an] "all-round" final exam'.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, instead of abandoning the exam altogether, which Clarke suggested in 1942, he recommended that the 'examination not [be] superseded but changes character in accordance with purpose'.¹⁷⁶ Hence, he maintained that 'objective mental-ability tests, standardized attainment tests, and even something like the old style examination, will have their important part to play'.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, for Clarke, school records would have chief value in assessing 'qualities of temperament and character'.¹⁷⁸ According to the first report of the National Foundation for Educational Research in 1947, in which Clarke served as Chairman of the Interim Executive Committee, the foundation had devised two editions of school record cards for secondary schools and 34 LEAs had

¹⁷¹ Fred Clarke, 'Current Criticisms of the Proposed Triad of Secondary School Types'. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/13.

¹⁷² F. Clarke, 'Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School', Loughborough, 6th August 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁷³ Fred Clarke, 'Aim and Purpose of the New Secondary School', Cardiff, 20th February, 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁷⁴ Fred Clarke, 'What of the Future?', Goldsmiths' Old Students, 4th March 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

¹⁷⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Selection (Allocation)', Guernsey, 8th June 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁷⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Some Problems of the New Secondary Organization', Nottingham, 27th March 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

¹⁷⁷ Fred Clarke, 'Progress and Present Prospects of Educational Science', Doctor Alfred Gilchrist Lecture, University of Aberdeen. 19th February 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/27.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

purchased them for use in their schools.¹⁷⁹

7.1.3 County Colleges

According to clause 43, county colleges were to be established for young persons between the ages of 16 and 18 to attend at least one day a week. Clarke also led discussions at the Central Advisory Council in order to put forward suggestions to help carry out the policy. At a meeting of the Council on 21 June 1945, Clarke emphasized that there should be a new alliance between education and industry. Moreover, he argued for the abolition of ‘this radical division in modern life’, that is, the division of culture and vocation. He hoped that ‘any planning of the county college should take account of these possibilities’.¹⁸⁰ Clarke’s advice was adopted and articulated in the first report of the Council, *School and Life*. The report argued that ‘although some teaching will be practical and vocational, the object of this further education is identical with that of full-time schooling’.¹⁸¹ The vocational courses should be ‘no substitute for liberal education’, but ‘may very well be coordinated with it’. For example, ‘however specific their vocational purpose, they can be scientific in approach’. Also, ‘by including some treatment of the social organization and outer relations of the industries they train for, they will fit in with the county college’s aim of preparing its students for their responsibilities as citizens’.¹⁸²

In his speeches, Clarke advocated these ideas time and again. In May 1946, he

¹⁷⁹ ‘National Foundation for Educational Research: In England and Wales’, The first report for the period to 31st March 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/63.

¹⁸⁰ Notes of a Meeting, 21st June 1945. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/146/1.

¹⁸¹ Ministry of Education, *School and Life*, 50.

¹⁸² Ibid.

urged that county college education 'includes and transcends vocation'. He explained that 'If the aim [of the county college] is integrity of character and understanding, then there can be no unresolved dualisms.' He suggested that 'value' be taught 'as [a] balancing corrective of piecemeal and partial character of much employment experience'.¹⁸³ Equally, in another speech, he maintained that, in the county college, culture must be embodied 'in spirit, atmosphere, opportunity, and informal grouping and intercourse', not in those so-called cultural 'subjects'.¹⁸⁴ In effect, a Ministry of Education pamphlet, *Youth's Opportunity* (1946), also avoided the articulation of the liberal versus vocational education dichotomy when it set forth curricular guidelines for the county college.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, Clarke hoped that the county college should function as a 'bridge' or 'initiation'.¹⁸⁶ That is to say, the county college should be regarded as 'the vestibule to adult life and responsibility as a whole'.¹⁸⁷ It is worth noting that despite Clarke's promotion of the provisions for the county college, this policy was never implemented. According to Penny Tinkler's analysis, this was mainly because of 'financial constraints' and 'the low priority attached to non-vocational forms of further education' in the post-war years.¹⁸⁸ The lack of emphasis on the vocational factors in the proposed provision of county colleges, and the ambiguity as to their aims and curriculum arising from the attempts to integrate the cultural and the vocational made them even less attractive than technical education in the 1950s.¹⁸⁹ Certainly, as Harold Silver

¹⁸³ Fred Clarke, 'County College', Yorkshire council for Further Education, Scarborough, 17th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁸⁴ Fred Clarke, Gorleston, First Lecture-Opening, [n.d.; August 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁸⁵ Penny Tinkler, 'Youth's Opportunity? The Education Act of 1944 and Proposals for Part-time Continuation Education', *History of Education*, 30/1 (2001), 77-94 (p. 86).

¹⁸⁶ Fred Clarke, Gorleston, First Lecture-Opening, [n.d.; August 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁸⁷ Fred Clarke, 'County College', Yorkshire council for Further Education, Scarborough, 17th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

¹⁸⁸ Tinkler, 'Youth's Opportunity? The Education Act of 1944 and Proposals for Part-time Continuation Education', 79.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

argues, in British conditions, 'The advocacy of a pervasive liberalization of all aspects of vocational education, and of the vocationalization of the traditionally liberal did not in general produce those results.'¹⁹⁰ Instead, from the 1920s, there have been commitments to differences at every level of the educational system.¹⁹¹

Overall, Clarke's ideas and actions regarding the implementation of the 1944 Education Act reflected his ideas of democracy, which were characteristic of developmental democracy, to a great extent. First, as he argued immediately after the publication of the Act, the Central Advisory Council, which played a significant role in advising the Minister of Education, was a device to balance the extension of authority. His understanding of the potential function of the first report, *School and Life*, that is, to help create informed opinion, also echoed his emphasis on the importance of public opinion for checking the power of the State, which was one major feature of developmental democracy. Second, as far as his ideas about secondary education were concerned, the principle of individualization, which implied the realization of abilities or capacities in all pupils, embodied his stress on the development of free personality, which was significant for guaranteeing free contributions from the individual to the common good, and reflected his organic interpretation of equality. His stress on the development of free personality and his organic interpretation of equality were also in line with the ideals of developmental democracy, in particular those of Green, Hobson and Lindsay. Based on this, separate secondary schools and a multilateral or comprehensive school were acceptable for him as long as diversity of educational treatment was provided in schools and necessary adjustment and experiments were made. Also, owing to his

¹⁹⁰ Harold Silver, *Education as History: Interpreting Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Education* (London: Methuen, 1983), 168-169.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

belief in the necessity of élites and excellence in democracy, which was consistent with J. S. Mill's ideas of democracy, Clarke argued that the grammar schools were still needed although he called for varied forms of excellence developed both in the grammar schools and the modern schools. Similarly, according to the same belief, he suggested that the multilateral or comprehensive school not neglect the education of abler pupils. Last, in accordance with his earlier ideas of democratic education, he maintained that county colleges should integrate the cultural and the vocational in their educational provision.

7.2 Guardians of Freedom: Teachers and Professional Organizations

Aside from devoting himself to the implementation of the Act, Clarke continued to promote Scheme A of the McNair Report, the University Schools of Education Scheme, given the fact that before Butler left the Ministry of Education, there was no decision about this issue.¹⁹² As Crook indicates, although Butler preferred a single plan, he recognized that Scheme A could not be forced upon unwilling universities.¹⁹³ In an article published in January 1946, Clarke revised his idea of the 1920s that the training of teachers should be the State's responsibility and argued that 'the university is the one authority' which people could turn as the 'creator' and 'maintainer' of standards of teacher education. This was because to 'place all the main control of the teaching profession in London under a Minister' would urge a 'totalitarian tendency'.¹⁹⁴ Clarke emphasized that the fear that 'the university's resources and energies may be diverted from its central functions' would

¹⁹² Crook, 'Universities, Teacher Training, and the Legacy of McNair, 1944-94', 240.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Preparing Teachers in England and Wales', *Educational Forum*, 10/2, January 1946, 151-159 (p. 155). Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

be met 'if the university set up an organization, to be called perhaps a School of Education, for which it took ultimate responsibility, but the working of which is left very largely to those concerned'. Moreover, he added, 'one very great advantage flowing from a close university connection would be that the rich and varied resources of the university would be made more available for the study of education and for the enrichment of the preparation of the teacher'.¹⁹⁵

In March 1946, Wilkinson sent a copy of a document entitled 'The Universities and the Training of Teachers' to relevant organizations in confidence.¹⁹⁶ In this document, Wilkinson claimed that 'she will accept in principle the measure of diversity represented by the various proposals submitted by the universities', including Scheme A (University Schools of Education Scheme), Scheme B (Joint Board Scheme) and Scheme C (Institutes of Education).¹⁹⁷ The Institutes of Education Scheme, which gave institutes an existence independent of the university, were proposed by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in October 1944.¹⁹⁸ After Wilkinson's claim, on 10 April 1946, the NUT sent representatives, one of whom was Clarke, to discuss the document with the Ministry of Education. According to the minutes of the meeting, 'The NUT expressed their strong preference for Scheme A, and hoped that the Minister would get Scheme A into operation quickly and negotiate with the other Universities about Scheme C with a view to persuading as many of them as possible to change over to Scheme A'.¹⁹⁹ Aside from this, in his essay, Clarke reiterated that 'the universities should be asked

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 156.

¹⁹⁶ 'The Universities and the Training of Teachers', Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/86/189.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Crook, 'Universities, Teacher Training, and the Legacy of McNair, 1944-94', 239-240.

¹⁹⁹ 'Note of Conference', 10th April 1946. Ministry of Education papers, The National Archives, ED/86/189.

to assume a supervising responsibility for the preparation of teachers'.²⁰⁰ Eventually, in June 1946, Wilkinson announced Circular 112, which permitted universities to develop Institutes or Schools of Education along the lines preferred by their senates.²⁰¹ Since the Ministry of Education did not impose Scheme A on universities, in a speech in August 1946, Clarke argued again that for the preparation of teachers, 'liberal education' should be provided by 'universities'.²⁰²

For Clarke, a liberal education for the preparation of teachers was not only for raising 'standards' but also for 'freedom'.²⁰³ As he pointed out in early 1945, owing to a 'powerful minister' under the new Act, there arose 'bureaucracy and threat to professional and intellectual autonomy and integrity'.²⁰⁴ Hence, a 'complete and generous education' was significant for cultivating teachers, whom Clarke regarded as 'guardian[s] of springs and conditions of freedom'.²⁰⁵ For the purpose of freedom, Clarke also called for the recognition of the status of teachers as citizens. He maintained that since a teacher had to perform 'the civic function of [an] ambassador of [a] society to [the] kingdom of young [people]', he or she must be treated as a 'citizen' rather than 'a functionary'.²⁰⁶ Moreover, teachers must be awarded 'autonomy corresponding to responsibility' in that only the 'autonomy of [the] profession' could secure the teaching profession 'against official control'.²⁰⁷ From Clarke's perspective, the autonomy of the profession was 'closely related to

²⁰⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The English Education System', [n.d.; 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

²⁰¹ Crook, 'Universities, Teacher Training, and the Legacy of McNair, 1944-94', 241.

²⁰² Fred Clarke, Gorleston, First Lecture-Opening, [n.d.; August 1946?] Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction and Training of Teachers', Newcastle Education Society, 3rd March 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Training of the Teachers', National Association of Inspectors and Organizers, 6th October 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

²⁰⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The Teacher in a Changing Society', Watford, 15th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

[the] autonomy of the school', both of which could fight 'against bureaucracy'.²⁰⁸ In addition, Clarke urged the recognition of the professional status of teachers in view of the new functions that teachers were to perform under the new Act. Since clause 8 suggested that pupils must be provided with suitable education based on their needs, abilities and aptitudes, Clarke argued that teachers should become 'skilled technicians', 'not only in practical teaching, but in diagnosis and prescription'.²⁰⁹ Therefore, Clarke stressed, teachers must be 'trained in individual diagnosis and prescription'.²¹⁰

Last, in the face of the extended Minister's powers, Clarke also emphasized the importance of professional organizations.²¹¹ As a tribute in the *Times* pointed out after his death, 'As an active member of the National Union of Teachers he worked to promote a sense of high responsibility within the teaching profession'.²¹² Clarke argued that although the 'trade union aspect can still not be ignored', professional organizations should have 'positive function[s]', for instance, 'study and research', and 'policy-forming', in order to act as a 'counterweight to Ministry'.²¹³ Moreover, professional organizations should also display 'educational leadership' in 'instructing and leading public opinion'.²¹⁴ On the basis of these functions, in 1949,

²⁰⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Training of the Teachers', National Association of Inspectors and Organizers, 6th October 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/54; Fred Clarke, 'Education in the New World: Challenge and Opportunity', Louth, 29th November 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁰⁹ Fred Clarke, 'The Teaching Profession in a Changed World', Montreal, 15th April 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

²¹⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The Teacher in a Changing Society', Watford, 15th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/54.

²¹¹ Fred Clarke, 'Seizing an Opportunity', Dagenham Educational Fellowship, 8th May 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

²¹² Anonymous, 'Sir Fred Clarke: The Ideals of Education', *Times*, 8th January 1952. Clarke papers, FC/1/6.

²¹³ Fred Clarke, 'Reconstruction and Training of Teachers', Newcastle Education Society, 3rd March 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/54; Fred Clarke, 'Time of Testing and Opportunity', Wymondham Woman, 2nd December 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

²¹⁴ Fred Clarke, 'The New Era in Education', Bedford, 9th December 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, 'Education Act and the Teachers', Scunthorpe Refresher Course, 17th February 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/26.

Clarke set forth a 'threefold partnership', which involved the Government, local authorities, as well as voluntary organizations such as professional bodies. With regard to the Government, 'the Minister himself encourages local and voluntary initiative all he can, and uses his powers in a restrained and tactful way'. On the part of local authorities, 'raising a large part of the cost of education from local sources and organized in their own powerful Associations, [local authorities] can act as a check upon the Minister, who finds it wise to consult them on steps of policy'. As for voluntary organizations, they can 'balance the necessarily increased powers of the central authority'.²¹⁵ In an essay published in 1950, Clarke mentioned again the 'tripartite partnership' between the Ministry of Education, LEAs and teachers. He emphasized that, under this partnership, educational matters must be 'referred for consultation and advice to the appropriate quarters', which was 'a bulwark of strength in our democratic way of life'.²¹⁶ Furthermore, he believed that 'Without the trust and good will that have been the invariable accompaniment of this partnership the great and beneficial advances that have been made in education would not have taken place.'²¹⁷

Undoubtedly, Clarke's ideas of democracy also underlay his ideas on teacher education and the significance of the teaching profession and professional organizations. The proposal that teacher education should be provided and maintained by universities rather than the State found its root in Clarke's idea that the real educator was not the State but the society. Moreover, echoing his earlier democratic ideas on teachers' free citizenship, he urged the recognition of the

²¹⁵ Fred Clarke, 'Eight Public Lectures on Education and Culture', Given at the Cairo Institute of Education, January—February 1949, Lecture □, The Education Act of 1944. Clarke papers, FC/1/20.

²¹⁶ Fred Clarke, 'Teacher, Film and State', *Visual Education*, March 1950, 4-7 (p. 4). Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

autonomy of the profession in order to shield freedom from the powers of the central authority. Apart from this, one of the key themes in Clarke's democratic ideas, that is, the distinction between the State and community, was manifest in his emphasis on the threefold partnership among the central authority, the local authorities and professional organizations. Professional organizations, as a form of voluntary organizations, should perform their functions in policy-forming as well as instructing and leading public opinion, which would make for an indispensable check on bureaucracy caused by a more powerful Ministry of Education. This, in reality, embodied Bosanquet's and Lindsay's stress on the importance of voluntary organizations and public opinion, and Hobson's ideas about checks on the State.

7.3 The Price of Democracy: Adult Education

After the Second World War, Clarke laid more emphasis on adult education than he did during wartime. In general, three main reasons, which reflected his ideas of freedom and democracy, helped explain his enthusiasm about adult education. First of all, he recognized its 'vital importance for [a] free society'.²¹⁸ He believed that 'a society can remain free only if its adults are educated to the level of its needs'.²¹⁹ In the post-war years, two trends causing threats to freedom emerged. One was a technological society, which was 'specialized, differentiated, [and] highly organized' and thus created a tendency towards 'autocracy' and 'de-humanizing or mechanization of mind'. The other was the trend of social democracy, which 'requires [a] system of checks and controls', and therefore led to 'bureaucracy'.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Fred Clarke, 'The English System of Education Today', U. L. Course for Foreign Students, 21st July 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

²¹⁹ Fred Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', St. Anne's House, 7th June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²²⁰ Fred Clarke, 'The English Tradition in Education', Institute of Education, 20th October 1947.

As Addison indicates, ‘the machinery of control’ set up by the Labour governments ‘necessitated a large bureaucracy’.²²¹ In these circumstances, the problem, Clarke concluded, became how to reconcile the demand for efficiency and for freedom, that is, ‘how we can be efficient in the modern sense while still remaining a free people’.²²² For Clarke, to solve this problem, ‘the strain will fall upon the developed qualities of the individual citizen’.²²³

In fact, in the face of the two threats to freedom, Clarke wrote another important book, *Freedom in the Educative Society* (1948), one of a series of books entitled ‘Educational Issues of Today’, of which W. R. Niblett was the general editor. In December 1946, in his letter to Niblett, Clarke envisaged that the book would be ‘a sort of counter-check to the departmentalizing tendencies which become so strong when you get down to the job of “planning”’.²²⁴ After he accomplished the book, he wrote to Niblett again in August 1947 and hoped that it could appear soon since he had a feeling that ‘the mood of the country is ready for it’.²²⁵ This book, which Clarke dedicated to ‘the memory of Karl Mannheim’, still aimed to translate Mannheim’s concept of ‘planning for freedom’ into educational areas.²²⁶ However, different from wartime, there was a slight shift in his focus of discussions from the level of educational institutions to that of each citizen. As Clarke pointed out in the

Clarke papers, FC/3/40; Fred Clarke, ‘Living Together in Freedom’, W. E. A. , Manchester, 24th April 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/29.

²²¹ Addison, *No Turning Back*, 14.

²²² Fred Clarke, ‘To What End?’, Peckham Secondary School, 10th February 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/62; Fred Clarke, ‘The Widening Scope of the Study of Education’, Address at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Newcastle, 2nd September 1949. *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLVI, No. 2098, 8th September 1949, 240, 242 (p. 240). Clarke papers, FC/1/27.

²²³ Fred Clarke, ‘Freedom in the Educative Society’, [n.d.; 1947?] Clarke papers, FC/1/30.

²²⁴ Fred Clarke to W. R. Niblett, 9th December 1946. Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/2/4.

²²⁵ Fred Clarke to W. R. Niblett, 25th August 1947. Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/2/4.

²²⁶ Fred Clarke to W. R. Niblett, 17th August 1947. Niblett Papers, Bristol University Archives, DM/2079/2/4.

preface of the book, 'The effort to ensure them [qualities of character and understanding in the ordinary citizen] is a necessary part of the total planning.'²²⁷ He believed that, like a totalitarian society, 'the citizen type' was also a concern for a free society.²²⁸ Therefore, he portrayed his ideal citizen type in this book and, in doing so, he provided a more comprehensive and profound account of the concept of freedom.

From Clarke's perspective, conscience was a pivotal quality of character which must be cultivated in citizens. He was convinced that 'The one safeguard of continuing freedom is here.'²²⁹ This was because conscience, which connoted 'the need for resolute self-awareness and moral integrity', was in essence one manifestation of freedom.²³⁰ To his mind, freedom, 'as the educational objective rather than as a postulate of good teaching', 'is a continuing conquest, not an original birthday gift'.²³¹ Conquest meant 'a victory of trained and informed goodwill, whatever sacrifices it may involve—a victory of conscience, in short'.²³² Apart from this, for Clarke, freedom also implied 'the correlate of mature responsibility and of capacity to carry the burden of such responsibility'.²³³ Therefore, Clarke argued that, in order to remain a free people, each citizen must carry his responsibility.²³⁴ In effect, the cultivation of individual responsibility reflected the ideals of developmental democracy which were promoted by Green, Bosanquet and Hobhouse. Since the needed qualities for citizens, such as 'trained

²²⁷ Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, 9.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

²³² *Ibid.*, 58.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

²³⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Role of Universities and Voluntary Bodies in Adult Education', First Conference of National Foundation for Adult Education at Buxton on 14th February 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

insight, grasp of critical standards, acceptance of responsibility and the call for discipline and restraint, awakened imagination and instructed sympathy', could be 'achieved only by cultivation in the mature years', Clarke went on to argue that there must be adult education.²³⁵

Second, Clarke maintained that adult education was significant for remaining 'a free democracy'. For him, 'adult education is part of the price to be paid for free democracy'.²³⁶ He pointed out that the 'democracy' which was embodied in the Welfare State suggested 'demands enforced without accepting price'.²³⁷ One of the dangers of the Welfare State was that citizens did not 'desire to be free' and accept 'what that involves'.²³⁸ On this account, he claimed that to pay the 'price of democracy' was the real theme of adult education.²³⁹ That is to say, citizens should be educated to 'want and value freedom' and to 'be prepared to pay the price' in 'trained responsibility', 'skilled competence', 'cooperativeness and tolerance', as well as 'personal integrity and cultivation of the personal life', which, Clarke emphasized, 'are democracy'.²⁴⁰ Democracy, in his definition, was 'a society that takes responsible freedom as a prime essential to the good life of its members, [and] orders its life and education to develop capacity for such freedom'.²⁴¹

Third, Clarke argued that adult education was needed because of a lack of

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Fred Clarke, 'The Price of Democracy', George Cadbury Memorial Lecture, Selly Oak Colleges, 19th March 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

²³⁷ Fred Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', U. of L. Extra-Mural week-end course, [n.d.; 1951?]. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²³⁸ Fred Clarke, 'Education and the Economic Prospect', Wakefield Forum, 2nd February 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/24.

²³⁹ Fred Clarke, 'Introductory Talk', U. of L. Extra-Mural week-end course, 30th November and 2nd December [1951?] Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁴⁰ Fred Clarke, 'Taking Education Seriously', Bradford Education Week, 22nd June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

²⁴¹ Fred Clarke, 'A Literate Democracy', Norwich Association-Course in Reading, 6th October 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

‘social unity’ and ‘common culture’ in Britain.²⁴² Moreover, the conflicts in community, he proposed, were not so much ‘old class division’ as ‘conflict[s] of groups and interests’.²⁴³ In the light of this, apart from advocating more ‘mixture of classes’ in adult education, he claimed that ‘A powerful force making for unity will then be found in the meeting of many types of citizen coming from different vocations to study together the substance of the common culture in which they alike share and which they may be able to enrich by interpretations and experiences brought from many different standpoints.’²⁴⁴ For him, a function of adult education was to ‘bridge the divisions and transcend the conflicts of interest[s] which characterize our times’.²⁴⁵

On the basis of these reasons, Clarke proposed several principles of adult education. First, he argued that ‘adult education must be universal’.²⁴⁶ For him, adult education was ‘education of the governing class of free democracy’.²⁴⁷ Since there was an enlargement of the governing class due to political changes, ‘intellectual and moral education’ should be provided ‘for all alike’.²⁴⁸ Second, there should be a ‘variety of forms and levels [of educational provision] for

²⁴² Fred Clarke, ‘The Task Before Us’, Bradford Education Society, 5th February 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, ‘The Educational Prospect’, Sidcup, 16th October 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁴³ Fred Clarke, ‘The Task Before Us’, Bradford Education Society, 5th February 1946. Clarke papers, FC/1/31; Fred Clarke, ‘The Task Before Us’, Alnwick, 19th September 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁴⁴ Fred Clarke, ‘Old and New in Adult Education’, Worthing Conference, 17th April 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/2; Fred Clarke, ‘Swansea Technical College Jubilee Address’, 15th March 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/55.

²⁴⁵ Fred Clarke, *Adult Education—What Now?* (2nd National Adult School Lecture, October 1949) (London: National Adult School Union, 1949), 22. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁴⁶ Fred Clarke, *The New Importance of Adult Education* (London: National Union of Teachers, 1945), 9.

²⁴⁷ Fred Clarke, ‘Old and New in Adult Education’, Worthing Conference, 17th April 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁴⁸ Fred Clarke, ‘Taking Education Seriously’, Bradford Education Week, 22nd June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/62.

adults'.²⁴⁹ He added, because free citizens at levels of maturity can be presumed to know their own tastes and needs, educational provision should 'have the character of a cafeteria'.²⁵⁰ In other words, in adult education, citizens should be 'voluntary' in terms of 'attendance' and 'choice of course[s]'.²⁵¹ Moreover, he stressed, 'while extending the range' of courses, 'the necessary increase of depth' should be secured.²⁵² Consequently, the study of adult education should include not only 'social and economic questions' but also 'philosophy, psychology, literature, and art'.²⁵³ Aside from the 'intellectual interests and forms of knowledge and insight', he argued that 'moral demands' should also be met.²⁵⁴ Even more fundamentally, he suggested that adult education consider the issue of 'the nature and destiny of Man', which required the study of 'theology and the history of religion'.²⁵⁵ He believed that the Christian philosophy of Man, especially the doctrine of original sin was 'essential to a true and fully sane view of the nature of man'.²⁵⁶

Third, like Bosanquet and Lindsay, who stressed the role of voluntary organizations in education, Clarke argued that in adult education, 'the voluntary organizations will have a quite peculiar importance'.²⁵⁷ He urged 'freedom in community' and the 'best form of cooperation between "official" [organs] and voluntary [organizations]'.²⁵⁸ As he claimed, adult education should help maintain

²⁴⁹ Fred Clarke, 'New Outlooks in Education', St. Pancras, 5th February 1947. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

²⁵⁰ Clarke, *The New Importance of Adult Education*, 10.

²⁵¹ Fred Clarke, 'Introductory Talk', U. of L. Extra-Mural week-end course, 30th November and 2nd December [1951?] Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁵² Fred Clarke, 'Adult Education', Blackpool (N. of England Education Conference), 3rd January 1945. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Clarke, *The New Importance of Adult Education*, 12.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.; Fred Clarke, 'The Price of Democracy', George Cadbury Memorial Lecture, Selly Oak Colleges, 19th March 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/61.

²⁵⁶ Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, 94.

²⁵⁷ Clarke, *Adult Education—What Now?*, 8.

²⁵⁸ Fred Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', St. Anne's House, 7th June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

the ‘tradition of partnership’ between ‘the executive powers of public authority and the free initiatives of a still vital and responsive community’.²⁵⁹ In the light of this, he proposed that ‘there is one differentiation of function’ between local authorities and the universities and voluntary bodies. On the one hand, ‘the broadening of the scope of adult education, in respect both of varieties of offerings and of the numbers reached, will be mainly the concern of local authorities’. On the other hand, the universities and voluntary organizations should be responsible for ‘the necessary deepening, the extending of the reach of penetration’, that is, providing ‘philosophy, literary and artistic criticisms, scientific theory and theology’ as ‘the needed channels and instruments of deeper penetration’.²⁶⁰ In effect, this partnership reflected one of Clarke’s ideas of democracy, that is, the distinction between the State and community, which, for him, was the ‘essence of British democracy’.²⁶¹ That is to say, the State ‘cannot educate’ but can only secure the ‘formulation and application of [a] common rule’. There ought to be ‘continuing social vitality to maintain safeguards’ against the State.²⁶² From Clarke’s perspective, in generating and directing the ‘energies of initiative and zeal issuing from the body of society itself’, ‘the universities and voluntary bodies are to provide the springs and the channels’. If they failed to do so, he stressed, ‘freedom is no more [existing]’.²⁶³

Clarke was convinced that if the principles above were observed, ‘it is possible to produce [a] good man and [a] good citizen in one and the same education’. In other words, ‘it needs no separate “education for citizenship”’.²⁶⁴ In his speech,

²⁵⁹ Fred Clarke, ‘Role of Universities and Voluntary Bodies in Adult Education’, First Conference of National Foundation for Adult Education at Buxton on 14th February 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Fred Clarke, ‘The State and Education’, Institute, 1st February 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/53.

²⁶³ Fred Clarke, ‘Role of Universities and Voluntary Bodies in Adult Education’, First Conference of National Foundation for Adult Education at Buxton on 14th February 1948. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

Clarke warned his audience against ‘superficial “citizenship”’, which was caused by the overdoing of the politics. In remedying this, he argued that there should be ‘twofold citizenship’. One was citizens’ ‘allegiance’ to the State. The other was their ‘conscience’ to God.²⁶⁵ Indeed, for Clarke, citizenship consisted of not only the qualities which citizens would need in their political life but also those which were essential to a good man or woman in a religious sense. In other words, in Clarke’s view, the ideal citizenship was Christian citizenship, though for him and other Anglicans of the time the ideals of citizenship should be universal.²⁶⁶ Only when a citizen was also a good man or woman could he or she contribute to the maintenance of a free and united society and, above all, a free democracy.

To sum up, in the post-war years, Clarke mainly devoted himself to ensuring the implementation of the 1944 Education Act. As the first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), he advised the Minister of Education on the differences between theory and practice and led discussions at the Council about secondary education and the establishment of county colleges. Moreover, he urged the prompt publication of the first report of the Council, *School and Life*, which was expected to play a significant role in guiding public opinion to stop the government from cutting educational expenditures. Additionally, he persistently travelled around the whole country to deliver speeches and published articles through public media with a view to steering the direction in which the policy of ‘secondary education for all’ and the provisions of county colleges were carried out. In respect of secondary education, on the grounds of the principles of Universality and Individualization,

²⁶⁵ Fred Clarke, ‘The New Importance of Adult Education’, St. Anne’s House, 7th June 1951. Clarke papers, FC/1/2.

²⁶⁶ Grimley, *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England*, 12.

which were in accordance with his idea of equality and his belief in democratic élites, Clarke gradually conceived a 'bipartite' system (the grammar schools and the modern schools) and the multilateral or comprehensive school as possible forms of secondary organization. However, he emphasized that the former must be adjusted to the new situation and the latter should be experimented thoroughly in some areas. As for the establishment of county colleges, he highlighted the importance of transcending the division between culture and vocation in further education.

In addition to helping put into practice the new Act, Clarke continued to advocate the set-up of University Schools of Education. Furthermore, as adviser on educational developments and research to the NUT, he called for public recognition of the teaching profession, including the autonomy of the profession and the professional functions arising from the new Act, that is, educational diagnosis and prescription. Also, in the face of the increased power of the central authority, Clarke underscored the significant role of professional organizations in influencing and forming educational policies, and, above all, checking the operation of the Ministry of Education. Aside from teacher education, Clarke was considerably concerned with adult education in the post-war years. For a free and united society and a free democracy, he called for the cultivation of citizens' moral qualities, in particular integrity, responsibility, tolerance, cooperation, and self-discipline. These qualities, which can not be cultivated through a separate subject, featured Clarke's idea of 'education for citizenship'.

In general, Clarke's work and educational ideas in these aspects reflected markedly his ideas of democracy, which were characteristic of developmental democracy. As mentioned before, Clarke's service at the Central Advisory Council

towards its first report, his emphasis on teachers' professional organizations, and his insistence on the part voluntary organizations should play in adult education embodied one major theme of his democratic ideas, that is, the distinction between the State and community, which was a key feature of developmental democracy. Community, finding its expression in public opinion and voluntary efforts, not only operated as a check on the extended powers of the State but also executed its role as a real educator. Moreover, Clarke's ideas about secondary education were greatly informed by his stress on free personality and an organic interpretation of equality, which reflected Green's conception of freedom, Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function, as well as Lindsay's Christian conception of equality, and by his belief in the necessity of élites and excellence, which was consistent with J. S. Mill's concern over mediocrity. His recommendations on educational provision in county colleges were also grounded on his idea of the integration of culture and vocation, which was crucial to a democratic education. More fundamentally, based on his ideas of freedom and original sin, as well as Green's, Bosanquet's and Hobhouse's emphasis on the cultivation of individual responsibility and character, Clarke envisaged the ideal Christian citizenship, namely citizens with moral integrity and responsible freedom, which for him, was an essential safeguard of democracy.

On 19 December 1951, about two weeks before his death, Clarke attended the Standing Conference on Studies in Education, which was 'the last of the countless occasions on which he presided over meetings of members of the teaching profession'.²⁶⁷ At the conference, Clarke claimed that 'I have lived to see my hopes

²⁶⁷ Judges, 'The Late Sir Fred Clarke', 68.

coming true one by one.²⁶⁸ Indeed, as mentioned in chapter 6, in 1944, except for the integration of the public schools into a national secondary education system, many of Clarke's reform proposals such as universal secondary education, the elimination of the category 'elementary', the abolition of the 'Part III authorities', compulsory part-time continued education to the age of 18, and the replacement of the Board of Education by a comprehensive and powerful Ministry of Education came into effect under the new Act. In the post-war years, although the policy of county college was never implemented, the Minister eventually allowed the set-up of the University Schools of Education for the preparation of teachers. Furthermore, a new system of secondary education was gradually established. By the end of the 1940s, criticisms about 'education for leadership' and 'intellectual distinctions' started to emerge. As a result, a move towards the comprehensive school was created.²⁶⁹ Clarke might be criticized for his retention of the grammar schools and his optimism about the modern schools, and, above all, for not having a firm resolve to grasp the opportunity to promote a comprehensive system of secondary education. However, Clarke continued to have the situation in view and respond to it by guiding the LEAs to develop secondary education in their areas on the basis of his ideas of democracy. Therefore, although Clarke had reservation about a comprehensive system of secondary education, his significant role as a leader in advancing the implementation of the new Act, which was his substantial contribution to the age of transition, should not be neglected.

²⁶⁸ Quoted in W. R. Niblett, 'Sir Fred Clarke: Wide Influence on Education', *Times*, 14th January 1952.

²⁶⁹ McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings*, 67-69.

Ch8 Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that Fred Clarke's ideas of democracy reflected the ideals of liberal democracy and considerably informed his position on various issues of the English educational reform of the 1940s and his actions or activities towards them, which constituted his substantial contribution to the reform. It has also tried to relate Clarke's biography and educational careers to changes in educational ideas and policies in a broader social and political context over the period 1936-1952. Three general research themes presented in this thesis support the main argument. First, this thesis has argued that Clarke's ideas of democracy embodied major features of liberal democracy, especially those of developmental democracy. Second, Clarke's reform proposals and remarks on official documents and policy reports reflected his ideas of democracy. Third, Clarke's actions or activities also coincided with his ideas of democracy and greatly contributed to the legislation and the implementation of the 1944 Education Act. This chapter will first summarize key points in previous chapters and then suggest the contributions, implications, and limitations of this thesis as well as possible scope for further research.

In addressing the first theme, this thesis has examined theories of liberal democracy developed in England from the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. The major features of the two stages of liberal democracy in English history, that is, 'protective democracy' and 'developmental democracy', are teased out. Whereas protective democracy highlighted the protective nature of a democratic system of representation, namely protection of citizens from oppression by the government, the core of developmental democracy lay in the development of

citizens' personality and capacities to pursue a common good. Therefore, exponents of developmental democracy such as the British idealists (T. H. Green, Bernard Bosanquet and A. D. Lindsay) and the new liberals (L. T. Hobhouse and J. A. Hobson) all abandoned the ideology of laissez-faire and minimal state intervention and turned to support the extension of the State's power in order to secure conditions for the development of citizens, especially equal educational opportunity for all citizens. Nevertheless, inheriting some postulates of protective democracy, they maintained restrictions on the State. Moreover, they valued individual responsibility and the role of voluntary organizations and public opinion in checking the State. This marked a major difference between liberal democracy and social democracy. Above all, unlike social democrats such as the Fabians, C. R. Attlee and R. H. Tawney, liberal democrats accepted a capitalist system or a reformed capitalist system and rejected the nationalization of industries and a classless society.

On the basis of the theoretical framework above, the thesis has analyzed Clarke's ideas of democracy and claimed that his ideas reflected the ideals of liberal democracy, especially those of developmental democracy to a great extent. Clarke's democratic ideas gradually came into shape while he was based in the British Dominions, primarily in South Africa and Canada. However, growing up and educated in England, his democratic ideas evolved from English traditions and were influenced by contemporary political and economic doctrines. Hence, apart from being characteristic of liberal democracy, they also markedly featured an English democracy. In general, Clarke's democratic ideas were unsystematic and scattered throughout his writings and speech notes. Nevertheless, this thesis brings forward three aspects of Clarke's democratic ideas which were repeated by him time and again throughout his later life in England.

The first is the distinction between community and the State. Clarke argued consistently that at the heart of democracy was a spontaneous community. The real educator should be society or community rather than the State. In this sense, the functions of the State in education were the securing of a necessary minimum of education for all, the guaranteeing of reasonable equality of educational opportunity, and the providing of financial assistance and general stimulus and enlightenment to all socially valuable forms of educational efforts. In other words, the State should create scope for the initiative of the society instead of substituting for it. Moreover, in the face of the ever-increasing demand for an activist State before the Second World War and the set-up of a more powerful central authority after the War, Clarke proposed a threefold partnership between the central authority, local authorities and voluntary organizations in education and regarded voluntary organizations and public opinion as significant devices for checking the State. Clarke's ideas as to the functions of the State were consistent with the ideas of all the proponents of developmental democracy and Matthew Arnold. Moreover, his emphasis on the importance of voluntary organizations and public opinion in checking the State also reflected the ideals of developmental democracy, in particular those of Bosanquet, Lindsay, and Hobson.

The second is Clarke's conception of equality. In the spirit of liberal democracy, Clarke was opposed to a classless society. Sharing Hobson's view on society, Clarke proposed an organic interpretation of equality, namely to interpret equality in terms of an organic society. On this account, like formulators of developmental democracy such as Lindsay and Hobson, Clarke argued that equality should mean 'equality of

opportunity' and 'equality of claim', rather than 'equality of results'.¹ That is to say, each citizen could claim to have his or her own abilities or capacities recognized and cultivated so that different social functions could be performed by all citizens. Allied with this is Clarke's stress on excellence and élites, which was consistent with J. S. Mill's concern over mediocrity. For Clarke, a democracy would welcome excellence and require élites. He believed that aristocracy was compatible with democracy as long as it was democratized and élites were selected irrespective of their blood and wealth. On the other hand, Clarke also pointed out that, negatively, equality meant the repudiation of all privilege and the ensuing social division. Therefore, he called for the formation of a national community and social unity. It should be noted, however, that Clarke's ideas about equality of opportunity were more associated with social classes than with gender differences. As a consequence, his democratic ideas did not lead him to challenge the inheritance of the Victorian period about girls' education and the unfair distinction of salaries between male and female teachers.

The third is Clarke's emphasis on free personality and moral qualities of all citizens. For Clarke, free personality was of supreme value since democracy required that each citizen could realize his or her abilities in order to contribute to the common good in his or her own way. This, in effect, coincided with the ideals of developmental democracy, especially Green's conception of freedom and his ideals of democracy. This also implied citizens' capacity and will to carry the burden and take their own responsibility for their society. As mentioned in chapter 7, unlike A. S. Neill and other progressive thinkers, Clarke argued that freedom was 'the correlate

¹ Fred Clarke, 'Quality and Equality', *The Schoolmaster*, Vol. CLX, No. 2188, 5th July 1951, 22-23 (p. 22). (Review on *Education and Leadership* by Eric James) Clarke papers, FC/1/46.

of mature responsibility and of capacity to carry the burden of such responsibility' rather than absence of restraint.² Furthermore, since Clarke believed that 'all are to be "free"' in a democracy, he had been advocating the integration of culture and vocation in education from the 1920s.³ Additionally, after the Second World War, faced with the threats to freedom from a technological society and social democracy, Clarke re-emphasized moral qualities or character of citizens, which, for him, were an essential safeguard of freedom. Apart from responsibility, in relation to his ideas of freedom and original sin, he suggested other moral qualities such as conscience, moral integrity, tolerance, cooperation, and self-discipline. These qualities were the essentials of Clarke's Christian citizenship. They also echoed one of the ideals of developmental democracy, that is, individual responsibility to the community, which was especially highlighted by Green, Bosanquet and Hobhouse. Furthermore, since these qualities should be the production of a whole education, unlike Ernest Simon, Clarke contended that there was no need for a separate subject to provide 'education for citizenship'.

This thesis has dealt with the second theme through investigating Clarke's reform proposals for the English educational reform of the 1940s and his comments on official documents and policy reports. In so doing, this thesis concludes that Clarke's position on the educational issues of the reform reflected his ideas of democracy greatly, which, as mentioned above, were characteristic of developmental democracy. First of all, during wartime, Clarke called for the reorganization of the central authority. Similar to Matthew Arnold and all the exponents of developmental democracy, he accepted the extension of the powers of the State. Moreover, in tune

² Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, 57.

³ Clarke, *Education and Social Change*, 60.

with the ideals of developmental democracy, he argued that the State should guarantee equality of educational opportunity. Therefore, he called for a more comprehensive and powerful central authority and the substitution of the Ministry of Education for the Board of Education. When this was included in the Bill, he was in favor of it. Moreover, he was supportive of the set-up of the Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales since they could balance the authority, which, for Clarke, was significant for a democracy. Second, from the late 1920s, Clarke had been advocating a more radical reform of the public schools than Cyril Norwood. During wartime, he continued to argue that the public schools should be brought into a national education system by recruiting pupils from the common pool without any limits on the number of state school pupils. He believed that, by doing so, the educational value of the public schools could be retained, but the privilege they enjoyed would be eliminated. This would help secure equality and social unity. In the light of this, he found the Fleming Report disappointing and unacceptable in that Scheme B of the Report merely recommended a purely contingent and contractual relationship between the public schools and the State system.

Third, in relation to the ideal of 'secondary education for all', Clarke addressed various issues such as the administrative system of secondary education as well as its duration, fees, selection, organization and curriculum throughout the 1940s. In terms of the administrative system of secondary education, during wartime, Clarke proposed the abandonment of the category 'elementary' and the Part III authorities. Similar to the reform proposal about the public schools, Clarke argued for the incorporation of the 'elementary' schools into a national secondary education system. For Clarke, this would eliminate social prejudice and class-spirit and again advance the achievement of equality and social unity. With regard to the duration and fees of

secondary education, Clarke agreed with Tawney that the school-leaving age should be raised to 15 or 16 and secondary education should be free. As for curriculum, for the purpose of social unity, Clarke suggested that its source should be common culture although it should be relevant to different levels of age and ability in all adolescents. On this account, he criticized the Norwood Report for being too limited since it was only concerned about grammar school curriculum. Moreover, based on his pedagogic knowledge, he advocated a functional conception of curriculum, which focused on what pupils learned or behaved rather than a body of knowledge. Therefore, he disapproved of the Norwood Report because subjects were still the effective centres in it.

From the early 1930s, Clarke had been preaching the necessity of selection in secondary education. He emphasized that, after secondary education became universal, selection should mean the allocation of pupils to appropriate forms of education rather than a 'sheep and goats' selection.⁴ In effect, this, as an embodiment of equality of opportunity, can find its root in Clarke's stress on free personality and his organic interpretation of equality, which coincided with Green's conception of freedom, Hobson's conceptions of social organism and social function, as well as Lindsay's Christian conception of equality. In respect of the age of selection, Clarke continued to argue that 13-plus would be preferable to 11-plus throughout the 1940s. Moreover, he kept arguing for a special observation period or a try-out period from 11 to 13 and promoting the use of school record cards as one of the techniques of selection. As regards the organization of secondary education, not long after the publication of the White Paper and the Norwood Report, Clarke

⁴ Fred Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941. Clarke papers, FC/1/50.

started criticizing a tripartite system which was suggested by these two documents and supporting the multilateral school since the multilateral school could provide a wide range of resources, easy adaptation and transfer, and, above all, parity.

Nevertheless, considering the situation of the post-war years, Clarke accepted the tripartite system as a starting-point and advised the LEAs on the adjustment of the grammar schools and the modern schools. In accordance with his belief in the importance of excellence and élites in a democracy, which reflected J. S. Mill's ideas of democracy, Clarke averred that the grammar schools were still needed but they should either reduce their intake or widen their scope. Moreover, in championing a new conception of modern school education, that is, liberal education for the many, he urged the development of new forms of excellence in the modern schools. Indeed, although Clarke approved of Eric James's controversial ideas about 'education for leadership', he maintained that apart from intellectual ability as a criterion of selection for leadership, there should be other forms of intelligence which were of potential leadership value. Clarke believed that élites or leaders could be found at every economic level, and every kind of work and sphere of life. By virtue of the same democratic idea, although Clarke remained sympathetic to the multilateral or comprehensive school, he suggested experiments for it in certain areas in order to ensure that abler pupils would not be neglected. In addition, in line with his ideas about the integration of culture and vocation, throughout the 1940s, he continued to criticize the name of the technical schools and proposed the abandonment of the term 'technical' at the secondary stage.

Fourth, during wartime, Clarke argued for compulsory part-time continued education for adolescents up to 18. Due to his ideas about freedom and discipline,

Clarke argued that the compulsion of continued education by the State was not against freedom, but a precondition for it. Moreover, in his view, the State should guarantee a necessary minimum of education for all, which was also promoted by formulators of developmental democracy. After the war, according to the 1944 Education Act, county colleges were to be set up to provide continued education. Clarke called for the integration of culture and vocation in county colleges, which reflected his earlier ideal of a democratic education.

Fifth, Clarke continued to promote Scheme A of the McNair Report, the University Schools of Education Scheme for raising the standard of teacher education and, more fundamentally, for teachers' freedom. He called for the recognition of professional autonomy and laid an emphasis on the importance of professional organizations in forming educational policies and leading public opinion to check the State. These mirrored Clarke's ideas of democracy and the ideals of developmental democracy, that is, Bosanquet's and Lindsay's stress on voluntary organizations and public opinion, as well as Hobson's ideas about checks on the powers of the State. Equally, Clarke's ideas of democracy found expression in his advice on adult education. For the cultivation of free and responsible citizens, which was also the ideals of developmental democracy, adult education was the price of democracy. Furthermore, sharing Bosanquet's and Lindsay's insistence on the distinction between community and the State, Clarke claimed that voluntary organizations should play an indispensable part in providing adult education.

The third theme of this thesis has been explicated by means of probing into the approaches Clarke adopted to contribute to the reform leading to the 1944 Education Act and help bring the Act into effect. In general, prior to the publication of the

White Paper, Clarke acted as a leading campaigner for educational reconstruction and involved himself in various discussions of educational issues. After the White Paper was issued, he publicly supported it and vigorously joined what he called 'democratic debate'.⁵ After the Bill was published, he actively promoted it in order to help its passage and pressed for further reform. According to the analysis of this thesis, in the process leading to the 1944 Education Act, four aspects of actions were undertaken by Clarke. First, Clarke aroused and guided public opinion through his speeches, writings, and cooperative actions with other key figures in the reform. Between 1940 and 1944, Clarke travelled around the country in war conditions and made at least 80 speeches. In terms of his writings, his book, *Education and Social Change*, helped crystallize and lead public opinion at the very early stage of the reform. For the same purpose, he also published articles in print media, for instance, *The Journal of Education*, *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, *The New Era*, *Christian News-letter*, *Spectator*, *Nature*, *Time and Tide*, *Times Educational Supplement*, and *Times*. As for the cooperative actions, two statements were published in the *Times* and a further conference was expected to be held to support the Bill. In effect, Clarke's actions reflected his ideas of democracy, that is, the importance of public interest in education and public opinion for checking the State, which was also a main feature of developmental democracy especially promoted by Lindsay and Hobson.

Second, Clarke continued to participate in discussion groups such as the All Souls Group and the Moot to interchange ideas with cultural élites. Through this, he exerted his influence on them and some concrete actions for urging reform were

⁵ Fred Clarke, 'English Education', Service Summer School, July-August 1943. Clarke papers, FC/1/28.

undertaken. Third, he attempted to influence policy-makers and key figures in the reform through memoranda, private meetings and correspondence. For example, he advised R. A. Butler on the issues of the public schools and the organization of secondary education in a private meeting and their correspondence. Similarly, he advised Geoffrey Faber on the issue of the public schools through private correspondence. Fourth, Clarke engaged in professional organizations like the NUT and the ATCDE to influence the officials of the Board of Education and public opinion indirectly. For example, he expressed his opposition to the Norwood Report and the Fleming Report through the NUT. Moreover, he led the ATCDE to advocate the University Schools of Education scheme of the McNair Report. His activities in the professional organizations embodied his democratic ideas about the role of professional organizations in shaping educational policies and leading public opinion, which also echoed Bosanquet's and Lindsay's democratic ideals.⁶

After the publication of the 1944 Education Act, Clarke devoted himself to introducing and publicizing the new Act to the public in order to help put it into practice. Equally, his speeches and writings played an important role in educating public opinion. Before his death, he delivered at least 182 speeches up and down the country. Additionally, as the first Chairman of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), he advised the Minister of Education on the differences between theory and practice and ensured the prompt publication of the first report, *School and Life*, in order to prevent the government from cutting educational expenditures. These actions were also in accordance with Clarke's ideas of democracy. More important, throughout the 1940s, Clarke adopted a 'liberal' or a 'non-partisan' approach towards educational debates. He examined different reform

⁶ Fred Clarke, 'The New Era in Education', Bedford, 9th December 1950. Clarke papers, FC/1/31.

proposals based on rational criteria and tried to reconcile tradition and democratic principles. In so doing, his influence was broadened and his reform proposals and advice reached a wider audience. In the light of the actions or activities above and the fact that his reform proposals were made provision by the new Act, this thesis has claimed that Clarke, as a leading educational reformer, made a substantial contribution to the English educational reform of the 1940s.

By putting forward the main argument and the three general themes, this thesis does contribute to the field of history of education in two respects. First, the findings of the thesis help fill the gap in the current knowledge as to Clarke's democratic ideas, his contribution to educational reconstruction in the 1940s, and, above all, the intimate link between them. As mentioned in chapter 1, there was no thorough research about Clarke's continuous pursuit of democratic education and ideas especially after his return to England. His biographer and other historians also did not provide sufficient evidence about his actions and activities towards educational reconstruction. Moreover, previous literature did not address the connection between Clarke's democratic ideas and his positions and approaches in the reform of the 1940s. Second, the evidence presented in this thesis also sheds some light on the nature and tensions of the reform. Indeed, as McCulloch suggests, at the heart of the reform was a powerful drive for equality of opportunity.⁷ Clarke's reform proposals and his advice on the implementation of the new Act embodied the spirit of democracy. Furthermore, through examining the educational debates over the public schools and secondary education, both of which concerned Clarke most, tensions among different classes and interests, as well as between tradition and rational criteria are revealed in this thesis. As Clarke underlined repeatedly, the success of

⁷ McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction*, 93.

the reform would necessarily depend on change in social and historical attitudes and the formation of a common purpose based on a Christian social and educational philosophy.

In addition, this thesis also provides implications for current educational debates about the role of the State in education and education for citizenship, and for the formation of a culture of reform. With regard to the role of the State, in the U. K., there has been increased central control in educational development over the past decades.⁸ Similarly, in many countries such as France, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Japan, and Taiwan, a centralized administrative system has been adopted for many years. Clarke's ideas of democracy suggest that the functions of the State be confined to the scope of legislation for such ends as securing a necessary minimum of education for all and guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity. Education, including curriculum and pedagogic practices, should be left for schools and teachers. Therefore, the autonomy of schools and teachers must be maintained. The idea that a school should be considered to be an autonomous community, in Clarke's view, embodied an English tradition, that is, a sense of community. Moreover, a threefold partnership between the central authority, local authorities and voluntary organizations (including professional organizations), which, for Clarke, was a bulwark of a democratic way of life, should be revitalized in the U. K. and be developed and adjusted to different conditions in other countries. As the American political scientist Amy Gutmann claims, a democratic state of education must recognize that 'educational authority must be shared among parents, citizens, and professional educators'.⁹ All of them should be permitted to participate

⁸ House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee, *From Baker to Balls: The Foundations of the Education System*, Ninth Report of Session 2009-10, HC422, 4.

⁹ Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987),

in the democratic process and public debates in which they self-consciously shape the structure of society.

As for education for citizenship, in England, from 2002, citizenship education has become a statutory subject in secondary schools. Nevertheless, ten years later, the current Conservative-Liberal coalition government is reviewing the necessity of citizenship education in the national curriculum. On the contrary, internationally, many countries like the U. S., Australia, Singapore, and Taiwan have been providing direct citizenship education through social studies or civics. Clarke believed that in English conditions, a separate subject for education for citizenship would be harmful. However, nowadays, the political, economic, and international situations in the U. K. are more complex than sixty years ago. Therefore, whether a separate subject is required to meet various challenges in the U. K. needs to be re-evaluated. Even so, Clarke reminded us that ‘Citizenship is not like cookery, a technique; it is a life, and the whole range of education is needed for its production.’¹⁰ Moreover, education for citizenship should be provided not only in schooling but also in adult education. On the other hand, Clarke believed that the ideal citizenship was Christian citizenship with an emphasis on citizens’ character. In other words, to his mind, religious beliefs and values would help lay the foundation for good citizenship. Inevitably, in the U. K. and other multi-cultural countries involving citizens belonging to different religious and cultural groups, a controversial issue will be ‘the question of identity, including the multiple and complex nature of the allegiances of contemporary citizenship’.¹¹ Nevertheless, since, as Daniel Murphy points out,

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¹⁰ Fred Clarke, ‘An Educator Looks at the Crisis’, Address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, 26th April 1933. Clarke papers, FC/1/17.

¹¹ Jane Brown, Hamish Ross and Pamela Munn, ‘Introduction—Education for Democratic Citizenship: Exploring Key Issues and Challenges’, in *Democratic Citizenship in Schools: Teaching*

democratic values and virtues such as honour, courage, honesty, nobility, charity, tolerance, and respect for persons, which will help cultivate a higher ideal of humanity rather than simply guarding neutrality, have been neglected in recent years, Clarke's stress on citizens' character has a significant implication for discussions about education for citizenship.¹²

Additionally, Clarke exemplified the role of intellectuals and universities in helping to form a culture of reform. As an intellectual and Director of the Institute of Education, Clarke was vigorously involved in educational debates and responded to official documents and policy reports through his speeches at individual schools, universities and conferences, his writings in print media, his cooperative actions with other key figures, his discussions with cultural élites in discussion groups, and his engagement in professional organizations. His actions or activities aroused public opinion and provoked educational discussions at all levels. Moreover, he led the public to evaluate reform proposals according to their merits rather than their sources in order to find a common ground for opposite camps, which, for him, was a democratic means to educational reform. Through all this, the reform of the 1940s was no longer a top-down imposition by the government but, as Clarke put it, a product that 'represents the true interests of the whole nation'.¹³ Therefore, it can be suggested that intellectuals and universities should not forget their social responsibility and crucial roles especially in leading public opinion and examining government policies, which will be conducive to the maintenance of a culture of

Controversial Issues, Traditions and Accountability, eds. J. Brown, H. Ross and P. Munn (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2012), xi-xix (p. xiv).

¹² Daniel Murphy, 'Democratic Schooling in Scotland: Past, Present and Future', in *Democratic Citizenship in Schools: Teaching Controversial Issues, Traditions and Accountability*, eds. J. Brown, H. Ross and P. Munn (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2012), 16-29 (p. 27).

¹³ Fred Clarke, 'National Ideals in Education', Inaugural Lecture, delivered at the South African College, Cape Town, 16th June 1911. Clarke papers, FC/3/8.

reform and resonant with the ideals of liberal democracy.

This thesis has some limitations due to the unavailability of some primary sources and the limited time and space in this thesis. For example, because the files of the All Souls Group at the Institute of Education Archives are not accessible, this thesis did not present a detailed account of Clarke's activities and influence in this group. In addition, Clarke's private correspondence with his wife during wartime adopted in this research was transcribed selectively and offered by his daughter, Claudia Clarke. Therefore, some important information might be missed out and reliability of this material should also be considered. Moreover, although this thesis made an attempt to build up Clarke's social network and intellectual context especially in the war years, due to the limited time and space here, it simply mentioned some key figures such as Norwood, Tawney and H. C. Dent instead of providing a more complete picture of Clarke's connection and interaction with other contemporary intellectuals.

Last, based on the limitations above, this thesis provides a platform for further research. For example, for deepening the understanding of the English educational reform of the 1940s, more studies concerning key figures in the reform apart from Norwood, Tawney and Dent and the social network of these contemporary intellectuals need to be pursued. Additionally, this thesis has primarily focused on liberal democracy and an English democracy. Hence, it can be recommended that other models of democracy developed in English history and in other countries like America and France should be examined more thoroughly. Moreover, how different models of democracy influenced educational theories and practice should be explored and compared so that various patterns of democratic education can be

uncovered.

In conclusion, this thesis bridges the gap between Clarke's democratic ideas and his contribution to educational reconstruction in England in the 1940s. This not only helps throw some light on Clarke's personal ideas and activities in relation to educational reconstruction but also gave an insight into a wider social and historical change and development. Furthermore, this thesis provides some important implications for current educational debates concerning the role of the State in education and education for citizenship, and, above all, for the formation of a culture of reform in the U. K. and internationally over the world.

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(2) Interview

- Transcription of an interview with Fred Clarke's daughters, Claudia and Anna, by Professor Richard Aldrich, 14th August 1997.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 List of locations and titles of speeches of Fred Clarke (1940-1943.07)

counties	speeches
Berkshire	F. Clarke, 'Education and Community', Leighton Park, 5 th July 1941. (a co-educational Quaker public school, Reading)
Cambridgeshire	F. Clarke, 'Education and 'World Order'', Cambridge, 1 st March 1942.
Derbyshire	F. Clarke, 'Criteria and Tradition', Repton, 28 th February 1941. (an independent boarding school) F. Clarke, 'Some Considerations Underlying Educational Reconstruction', Women's Luncheon Club, Derby, 17 th March 1942. F. Clarke, 'Education and Citizenship', Youth Leaders' Course, Repton, 4 th August 1942. (an independent boarding school)
Leicestershire	F. Clarke, 'A Christian Society and its Education', Ministers' Fraternal (Loughborough), 17 th February 1941. F. Clarke, 'Fisher Act in Present Setting', T. C. A. Leicester, 7 th September 1941. F. Clarke, 'The Administrative Background'. Address to Conference of the Training College Association at Leicester. <i>Training College Bulletin</i> , No.51, November 1941. F. Clarke, 'Education in a Changing England', Loughborough, 5 th June 1942.
London	F. Clarke, 'Possible Development in English Education', Maria Grey, 21 st February 1941. F. Clarke, 'Crisis of Culture and the Curriculum', M. A. (London), 15 th March. 1941. F. Clarke, 'The School of the Future', Maria Grey, 11 th November 1941.
Nottinghamshire	F. Clarke, 'Education in a Christian Society', Paton College, Tollerton, 25 th November 1940. F. Clarke, 'Education and the Future', Newark, 22 nd March 1941. <i>The Newark Advertiser</i> , 18 March 1942, The Future of

	Education: address by Fred Clarke to Newark and District Discussion Club.(the talk was given on 14 th March, 1942)
Oxfordshire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Cultural Aspects of Vocational Education', Address to 7th Annual Conference, National Council on Commercial Education, Lady Margret Hall, Oxford, 5-6 July 1941.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Foundations of Youth Service', Oxford Course, 21st July 1941.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Towards Reconstruction in Education', Oxford (Somerville), 22nd November 1941.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Culture and Vocation', Oxford Vacation Course, 22nd August 1942.</p>
Shropshire	F. Clarke, 'Reality in School and Life', Shrewsbury, 29 th November 1941.
Staffordshire	F. Clarke, Maria Grey, Dudley, 'Is "Reconstruction" the Right Word?', 17 th November 1942.
Surrey	<p>F. Clarke, 'Changing Conception of Secondary Education', Surrey Teachers, Kingston, 27th September 1941.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Charterhouse, 'Introductory Talk on Reconstruction', 5th February 1943. (a public school)</p>

Main Cities	Speeches
Birmingham	F. Clarke, 'The Case for Educational Research', Birmingham, Midland A. T. C. D. E., 5 th June 1943.
Newcastle	<p>F. Clarke, 'Youth Service', Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 7th February 1942.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Some Implications of Christian Education', Newcastle-on-Tyne, 13th March 1943.</p>
Nottingham	<p>F. Clarke, 'Freedom of Man in Modern Society', N. U. C. Economic Society, 13th November 1940.(Nottingham?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The English Idea in Education', Nottingham Education Society, 16th November 1940.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Prospect in English Education', University Women, Nottingham, 7th December, 1940.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'San Weller and the Village Blacksmith', University Woman, Nottingham, 16th May 1941.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Idea of an Educative Society', Nottingham</p>

	<p>Education Society, 7th March 1942.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Lunch Lecture, U. C. 'Reconstruction in Education', 23rd February 1943.(Nottingham?)</p>
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Outside England	Speeches
Wales	F. Clarke, 'Education and Social Change', Aberystwyth 8 th July 1941.

Unable to identify places	speeches
1940-1943.07.15	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Crisis in Historical Perception', 20th June 1940.</p> <p>F. Clarke, S. C. M. Industrial Group, 26th January 1942.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'English Education', Service Summer School, July-August 1942.</p> <p><i>National Froebel Foundation Bulletin</i>, No. 18, November 1942.</p> <p>Fred Clarke's Closing address to the National Froebel Foundation Conference, September 1942.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Principles of Education', Introductory Talk, 6th October 1942.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Students, 'Reconstruction', 26th February 1943.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education of Full Personality', 16th June 1943.</p>

Appendix 2 List of locations and titles of speeches of Fred Clarke (1943.07-1944)

counties	speeches
Berkshire	F. Clarke, British Social Hygiene Council, Eton, 1 st August 1943.
Essex	F. Clarke, 'Educating for Democracy', Southend, 28 th September 1944.
Hertfordshire	F. Clarke, 'Aims of Modern Education', A. T. S. Watford, 4 th September 1943. F. Clarke, 'Reorganization of Secondary Education', N. U. T. (Ware), 2 nd March 1944.
London	lectures given to the King's College Education Society on 7 th February 1942) F. Clarke, St. Paul's, 20 th October 1943.(London?) F. Clarke, 'Secondary: Old and New', Shaddick Memorial, Shoreditch Training College, 27 th October 1943. (before 1951, in London) F. Clarke, 'English Education System: Secondary Education', King's, 11 th November 1943. F. Clarke, I. O. E. Article, December 1943.(London) F. Clarke, 'Prospects of Possibilities of the Education Act', Thirty Club, 23 rd January 1944. F. Clarke, 'Education and World Order', Chatham House, 31 st October 1944.
Oxfordshire	F. Clarke, 'The University and the Teaching Profession', Association of University Professors and Lectures of the Allied Countries in Great Britain, Second Educational Conference, 15 th April 1944, Basil Black, Oxford.
East Suffolk	F. Clarke, 'Educational Care of the 14's-20's', Ipswich, 17 th July 1943.
East Sussex	F. Clarke, Brighton, 25 th November 1943.
Warwickshire	F. Clarke, 'Adult Education in an Industrial Society', Rugby (B. T. H.) 5 th April 1944.
Yorkshire - West Riding	F. Clarke, Opening of Percy Jackson Grammar School, Adwick-le-Street, 23 rd October 1943. F. Clarke, 'The New Outlook in English Education'. Bingley Vacation Course [n. d., December 1943,12-August 1944?]

	F. Clarke, 'Britain's Opportunity', Emergency Address, Bingley, 24 th July 1944.
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Main Cities	Speeches
Bristol	F. Clarke, 'Research in Education', Bristol, 10 th June 1944.
Nottingham	F. Clarke, 'Meaning of Community', Nottingham Youth Course, 9 th September 1943. F. Clarke, 'Future of Education', Nottingham Youth Course, September 1943. F. Clarke, Nottingham, 19 th February 1944. F. Clarke, 'Educational Provision: Full-Time Facilities', Nottingham, 21 st August 1944. F. Clarke, U. C. Lecture, 24 th October 1944.

Outside England	Speeches
Wales	F. Clarke, 'Community: Debits and Credits', Borth, 23 rd August 1944. F. Clarke, 'Suggestions for a Philosophy', Youth Leaders, Borth, 23 rd August 1944.

Unable to identify places	speeches
1943.07.16-1944	F. Clarke, 'English Education', Service Summer School, July-August 1943. F. Clarke, 'Education Bill'. [no date] F. Clarke, 'Nursery School Association', 6 th November 1943. F. Clarke, 13 th November 1943. F. Clarke, M. A., 27 th November 1943. F. Clarke, 'Curriculum', M. A., 1944. F. Clarke, 'Principles', January 1944. F. Clarke, 'Adult Education', Educational Settlements Association, 29 th January 1944. F. Clarke, 'Adult Education', C. R. A. T., 26 th February 1944. F. Clarke, 'Art and the Teachers', Art Masters, 11 th April 1944. Report (typescript): "Teaching and Youth Leadership", Address to the Senior W. A. A. F. Officers' Conference, 3 rd October 1944. F. Clarke, 'Voluntary Organization in an Educative Society',

	<p>Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organization. 17th November 1944.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The New Secondary Problem', M. A., 2nd December 1944.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Religion'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Moral Purpose-Some practical Implications'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education and World Order'. [no date]</p>
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Appendix 3 List of locations and titles of speeches of Fred Clarke (1945-1952)

counties	speeches
Bedfordshire	F. Clarke, 'The New Era in Education', Bedford, 9 th December 1950.
Berkshire	F. Clarke, 'The Task Before Us ', Reading, 26 th January 1946. F. Clarke, Cumberland Lodge, 21 st February 1950. F. Clarke, 'The Fifth Freedom (Freedom in Education)', Culham College, Abingdon, Berkshire, 27 th August 1951. F. Clarke, 'A Literate Democracy', Norwich Association-Course in Reading, 6 th October 1951.
Buckinghamshire	F. Clarke, 'Curriculum and Exams in Secondary Schools', Bucks-Teachers [Harriston?] House, 28 th February 1948. F. Clarke, 'The Challenge to Contemporary Thought', Boy's Clubs, Amersham, 1950.
Cambridgeshire	F. Clarke, 'English Education in the Post-war World', Cambridge N. E. F., 23 rd October 1946.
Cheshire	F. Clarke, 'Culture and Vocation in the Post-War World'. Address at the 106 th Annual Meeting of the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, held at Warrington of 5 th October 1945.
Derbyshire	F. Clarke, 'Role of Universities and Voluntary Bodies in Adult Education', First Conference of National Foundation for Adult Education at Buxton on 14 th February 1948. F. Clarke, 'The Child in the World of Today', Derbyshire Teachers, Buxton, 5 th May 1951.
Devon	F. Clarke, Plymouth Refresher Course, 13 th October 1948. F. Clarke, 'Parity', Exeter. [n. d. 1948?] F. Clarke, 'School in the Future', St. Luke's College, Exeter, 10 th February 1951.
Dorset	F. Clarke, 'The Educational Prospect', Bournemouth Refresher Course, 24 th and 25 th Sept 1948. F. Clarke, 'The Prospect for Education', Weymouth, 9 th July 1949.
Durham	F. Clarke, Sunderland, 11 th October 1946. (historically a part of Durham) F. Clarke, 'Secondary Education and the 1944 Education Act', Durham County, 7 th – 11 th October 1946.
Essex	F. Clarke, 'Old and New in the New Situation', N. E. Essex

	<p>Educational Fellowship: Colchester , 15th April 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Act on a Long-Term View', S. E. Essex Association, 18th June 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Housecraft Course, Clacton, 25th April 1948.</p>
Gloucestershire	<p>F. Clarke, Cheltenham Course, 2nd September 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Cheltenham. [no date]</p>
Hampshire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Some implications of Universal Schooling', Portsmouth, 8th March 1951.</p>
Hertfordshire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Old and New in the New Situation', St. George's School, Harpenden , 9th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Teacher in a Changing Society', Watford, 15th May 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Bringing up Parents', Watford, 18th October 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education and Cultural Crisis', Wall Hall, 11th May 1947.(Hertfordshire?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'School and Teachers in the New Situation', Heads Association Ashridge, 20th June 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Wall Hall, 2nd January 1948. (Hertfordshire?)</p>
Kent	<p>F. Clarke, 'Modern School Curriculum', N. E. Kent, Siltingbourne, 8th May 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Function of the Grammar School', A. A. M., Dover, 18th March 1951.</p>
Lancashire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Adult Education', Blackpool (N. of England Education Conference), 3rd January 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Galgate, 13th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Secondary Modern School', Barrow-in Furness, 10th December 1946. (historically a part of Lancashire, now a part of Cumbria)</p>
Leicestershire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Curriculum of the Modern Secondary School', Loughborough, 6th August 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Opening of Leicester City Training College', 6th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Religion and the Training of the Teacher', Leicester Cathedral, 17th September 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Student and the University', Focus (National Union of Students), Summer 1948. (N.U.S. Congress, Leicester, April 2nd 1948).</p>
Lincolnshire - Parts of	<p>F. Clarke, 'What the New Education Act Can Do for Your</p>

Holland	Child', Spalding, 16 th May 1947.
Lincolnshire - Parts of Lindsey	<p>F. Clarke, 'Education in the New World: Challenge and Opportunity', Louth, 29th November 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'New Situation in Secondary Education', Louth 30th November [n. d. 1946?]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Challenge to Education', Scunthorpe, Public meeting, 16th February 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education Act and the Teachers', Scunthorpe Refresher Course, 17th February 1950.</p>
London	<p>F. Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', N. U. T. 3rd January 1945.(Address delivered at Friends' House, Euston Road, London)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Supply of Teachers' ("The Education Act in Operation"), King's College Conference, 5th January 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Task Before Us', Ealing Teachers, 7th November 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'What Can Secondary Education Offer Your Son?', Acton County School, 31st January 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Changing Conceptions of Education', East Ham Education Week, 4th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Seizing an Opportunity', Dagenham Educational Fellowship, 8th May 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Dagenham (Higher Education Unit), 15th May 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'School Libraries', Opening Address - Ministry Course, Westfield College, 23rd July 1947. (London?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Democracy and Education', Oversea Students, Institute, 27th November 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'New Outlooks in Education', St. Pancras, 5th February 1947.(London?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, Institute, 13th June 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The English System of Education Today', U. L. Course for Foreign Students, 21st July 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The English Tradition in Education', Institute of Education, 20th October 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Rewards and Punishments', West Ham, 26th November 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Philosophy of Education under Revision', Institute, 10th December 1947.</p>

	<p>F. Clarke, 'Libraries and Education', Hendon, 11th December 1947.(London)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'English Education: Historical Background', Institute, 19th January 1948.(London)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'To What End?', Peckham Secondary School, 10th February 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'School and Culture', Cooper's Hill Emergency College, 16th April 1948. (before 1951, London)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Changed Outlook in English Education', U. of L. "Literature" course, 12th August 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Educational Prospect', Sidcup, 16th October 1948.(London)</p> <p>F. Clarke, Institute, 19th November 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Changing Function of the Teacher', A. L. E. S., Goldsmiths, 25th June 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Adult Education—What Now?', 2nd National Adult School Lecture, October 1949, National Adult School Union.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'English Educational System', Institute, 31st October 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The State and Education', Institute, 1st February 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'What of the Future?', Goldsmiths' Old Students, 4th March 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education and Culture', India House, 30th March 1950. (London?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Constants and Variables in Teaching', S. C. M. Institute, 4th May 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Looking Before and After', Institute Conference, 30 June 1951.</p> <p>F. Clarke, U. L. Lecture, 26th July 1951.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', U. of L. Extra-Mural week-end course, [no date, 1951?].</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Introductory Talk', U. of L. Extra-Mural week-end course, 30th November and 2nd December 1951?</p> <p>F. Clarke, Notes for Institute Lecture. [no date]</p>
Middlesex	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Common Secondary School', Middlesex Conference, 19th October 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The English Tradition in a Changing World', Trent</p>

	<p>Park, 18th July 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The English Tradition in Education', Trent Park, 24th January 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'British Influence in World Education', Trent Park, 28th March 1950. (Middlesex?)</p>
Norfolk	<p>F. Clarke, Gorleston, First Lecture-Opening. [no date, August 1946?]</p> <p>F. Clarke, Gorleston, Public Meeting, 26th August 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 31st July, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 13th August Gorleston, 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Time of Testing and Opportunity', Wymondham Woman, 2nd December 1947.</p>
Northumberland	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Task Before Us', Alnwick, 19th September 1947.</p>
Nottinghamshire	<p>F. Clarke, Henry Mellish School, 27th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Prospect for Education', Mansfield, 6th October 1949.</p>
Oxfordshire	<p>F. Clarke, Shrivenham, 15th November 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Idea of an Educative Society', French Teachers: Oxford, 9th August 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Opening Address for Central Council for Health Education, Oxford, 14th August 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Changing Form of Individualism', Oxford Summer School, 26th August 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Middlesex Teachers, Oxford, 1st April 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Some Reflections on Discipline', N. U. T. Summer Course, Oxford, 10th August 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Attitude to Tradition', Oxford Summer School, 2nd August 1951.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Curriculum of Secondary School', Points for St. Cath. [no date]</p>
Shropshire	<p>F. Clarke, 'Education and Leisure', Shrewsbury, 7th December 1946.</p>
East Suffolk	<p>F. Clarke, 'Aspects of Content and Method in Education', Lowestoft, 14th June 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Lowestoft, 2nd July 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Lowestoft, Rotary Club, 2nd July [no year, 1947?]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Scope and Content of Secondary Modern Education', Ipswich, 14th November 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Changing Function of the Teacher', Ipswich, 16th</p>

	July 1949.
Surrey	F. Clarke, 'Education for a Free Society', Surrey Educational Conference, Epsom, 18 th October 1947. F. Clarke, 'The conception of Freedom in Education', Dorking Conference, 7 th April 1948.
East Sussex	F. Clarke, Varndean (Brighton), Speech-Day, 20 th March 1946. F. Clarke, 'Modern Trend in Education', Hove, 5 th March 1947. F. Clarke, 'Secondary Modern School', Eastbourne Conference, 4 th August 1949. F. Clarke, 'Education Today and Tomorrow', Hastings, 14 th June, 1950. F. Clarke, Bexhill, 30 th June 1950. F. Clarke, 'What Kind of Secondary Education?', Lewes, 27 th November 1950.
West Sussex	F. Clarke, 'Old and New in Adult Education', Worthing Conference, 17 th April 1948. F. Clarke, 'Primary Curriculum', Littlehampton. [n. d.] F. Clarke, 'Secondary Curriculum', Littlehampton. [n. d.] F. Clarke, 'School Curriculum-General', Littlehampton, 22 nd November 1946.
Yorkshire - East Riding	F. Clarke, 'Liberal Education for the Many', E. Riding Conference, 16 th October 1947. F. Clarke, 'School and Social Change', Hull Training College, 14 th March 1950. F. Clarke, 'Retrospect to 1944: Some Questions Arising', Hull, 15 th September 1950. F. Clarke, 'Teaching: Old and New', Hull Municipal Training College, 27 th April 1951.
Yorkshire - North Riding	F. Clarke, 'County College', Yorkshire council for Further Education, Scarborough, 17 th May 1946. F. Clarke, 'Some Problems of the Curriculum', Harrogate Emergency College, 13 th January 1948. F. Clarke, 'The New Importance of Adult Education', St. Anne's House, 7 th June 1951. (Yorkshire?)
Yorkshire - West Riding	F. Clarke, Dewsbury, Wheelwright Grammar School, 4 th December 1946. F. Clarke, 'The Curriculum: Need for Experimentation and Research', Halifax, 31 st May 1947.

	<p>F. Clarke, 'Criteria in the Framing of School Curriculum', Bingley Course I , 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Bingley Course II , 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'To Where, To What, Must we Educate?', Huddersfield District Association, 29th May 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education and the Economic Prospect', Wakefield Forum, 2nd February 1950.</p>
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Main Cities	Speeches
Birmingham	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Sources of a Philosophy of Education', St. Francis Hall Lecture, Birmingham, 23rd November 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Price of Democracy', George Cadbury Memorial Lecture, Selly Oak Colleges-19th March 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Notes for Birmingham Talk. [no date]</p>
Bradford	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Task Before Us ', Bradford Education Society, 5th February 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Taking Education Seriously', Bradford Education Week, 22nd June 1951.</p>
Bristol	<p>F. Clarke, 'Education at Home and Abroad', Bristol Head-Teachers, 26th February 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Content and Method', Bristol Refresher Courses, 17th and 18th September 1948.(?)</p>
Leeds	<p>F. Clarke, 'The Teacher in Society', A. T. C. D. E. Leeds, 12th September 1949.</p>
Liverpool	<p>F. Clarke, 'Importance of Educational Research', Liverpool, 10th May 1946.</p>
Manchester	<p>F. Clarke, Salford, 25th October 1946. (a city, a metropolitan borough of Greater Manchester)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Facing the Situation', Manchester, ? Co-Association, 8th February 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Living Together in Freedom', W. E. A. , Manchester, 24th April 1948.(a city and metropolitan borough in Greater Manchester)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Prospects in Teaching', Didsbury, 24th April 1948. (In Manchester)</p>
Newcastle	<p>F. Clarke, 'Reconstruction and Training of Teachers', Newcastle Education Society, 3rd March 1945.</p>

	<p>F. Clarke, Newcastle, 23rd May 1946.(Northumberland)</p> <p>‘The Old and the New: Sir Fred Clarke at Northumberland Refresher Course’. <i>The Schoolmaster</i>, 149/1929, 30th May 1946.</p> <p>(The Inaugural Meeting was held on May 22, in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland)</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘The Widening Scope of the Study of Education’. <i>The Advancement of Science</i>, 6/23, October 1949. Address at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Newcastle, 2nd September 1949.</p>
Nottingham	<p>F. Clarke, ‘Some Problems of the New Secondary Organization’, Nottingham, 27th March 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Re-interpreting Tradition’, E. Midlands A. T. C. D. E., Nottingham, 10th November 1951.</p>
Sheffield	<p>F. Clarke, ‘The New Four Year Secondary Course’, Sheffield, 9th June 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘The Teaching Profession’, Brincliffe, Sheffield, 18th February 1948.</p>
Coventry	<p>F. Clarke, ‘An Interim Survey’, Coventry, 11th May 1949.</p> <p>(currently in West Midlands, a city and metropolitan borough)</p>

Outside England	Speeches
Wales	<p>F. Clarke, ‘Aim and Purpose of the New Secondary School’, Cardiff, 20th Feb, 1946.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Secondary School in Contemporary World’, Wrexham, 24th January 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Educational Research’, Bangor, 25th January 1947</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Swansea Technical College Jubilee Address’, 15th March 1947.</p>
Scotland	<p>F. Clarke, ‘Progress and Present Prospects of Educational Science’, Doctor Alfred Gilchrist Lecture, University of Aberdeen. 19th February 1947.</p>
islands	<p>F. Clarke, Jersey Opening, 3rd June 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Jersey Summing up, 5th June 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Education Act 1944’, Guernsey, 7th June 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, ‘Selection(Allocation)’, Guernsey , 8th June 1948.</p>

Unable to identify places	speeches
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1945-1952	<p>F. Clarke, 'Provision of Social Education in the State School', Save the Children Fund Conference, 20th January 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Contemporary Problem', Australians' Course, 16th July 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'For British Council Teachers', 11th August 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Training of the Teachers', National Association of Inspectors and Organizers, 6th October 1945.</p> <p>F. Clarke, N. W. Polytechnic, 15th January 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Pendley, 14th March 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Principle of Equality in Practice and Application', Teachers of The Deaf, 15th March 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Wider Significance of Technical Education', Ministry Course for Teachers of Chemistry, I. C. S., 14th July 1947.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'English Education', Friends' International, 28th June 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Organization and Life', N. E. F. and N. S. A. Joint Summer School, 28th July 1948.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Guiding Values in Education', UNESCO Fellows Brit-Co, 20th September 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Philosophy of Education', Senior Seminar, 12th Oct 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'American Teacher', 29th October 1949.</p> <p>F. Clarke, Senior Seminar, 31st May 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'The Unity of Education', General First Lecture, 10th October 1950.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Catching Up With the School', Living Association, 2nd April 1951.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'English -as-Foreign-Language-Class', 1st and 3rd May 1951.</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Oversea Students', 4th October [no year] (London?)</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Adult Education'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Secondary School Curriculum'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Suggestion for a Philosophy'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke, 'Education of Character in England'. [no date]</p> <p>F. Clarke. [no title][no date] (about democracy)</p> <p>F. Clarke. [no title][no date](about freedom)</p>
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